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Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. XVIII.

THE MAHĀVASTU

VOLUME II

THE MAHĀVASTU

VOLUME II

Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit

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LUZAC & COMPANY, LTD.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1
1952



Printed in Great Britain
at the Burleigh Press, *Lewins Mead,* Bristol

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ABBREVIATIONS IN FOOTNOTES*

A. = Anguttara Nikāya
AA. = Anguttara Nikāya Commentary
B.R. = Böhtlingk and Roth : Sanskṛit Wörterbuch.
BudvA. = Buddhavaṃsa Commentary
Cpd. = Compendium of Philosophy (Trans. of Abhidamma-attha-sangaha)
D. = Dīgha Nikāya
DA. = Dīgha Nikāya Commentary
Dh. = Dhammapada
DhA. = Dhammapada Commentary
Dhs. = Dhammasangaṇi
Dhsg. = Dharmasangraha (Anecdota Oxoniensia series)
Dial. = Dialogues of the Buddha (Trans. of Dīgha Nikāya)
Divy. = Divyāvadāna (Ed. Cowell and Neill)
G.S. = Gradual Sayings (Trans. of Anguttara Nikāya)
D.P.N. = Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (By G. P. Malalasekera)
Further Dial. = Further Dialogues of the Buddha (Trans. of Majjhima Nikāya)
I.H.Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
It. = Itivuttaka
J. = Jātaka (Ed. Fausböll, London : Trübner)
J.A.O.S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society
J.P.T.S. = Journal of the Pali Text Society
J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
K.S. = Kindred Sayings (Trans. of Saṃyutta Nikāya)
M. = Majjhima Nikāya
MA. = Majjhima Nikāya Commentary
Mhvs. = Mahāvaṃsa
Mhvu. = Mahāvastu
Mvyut. = Mahāvyutpatti
M.W. = Monier Williams : A Sanskrit English Dictionary
Miln. = Milindapañha (Royal Asiatic Society)
Lal. Vist. = Lalita Vistara (Lefmann)
Netti. = Netti-pakaraṇa
P.E.D. = Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary
S. = Saṃyutta Nikāya
SA. = Saṃyutta Nikāya Commentary
S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East
Sn. = Sutta-Nipāta
Thag. = Theragāthā
Thig. = Therīgāthā
Ud. = Udāna
V. = Vinaya-Piṭaka
Vbh. = Vibhanga
Vism. = Visuddhi-magga
Vv. = Vimāna-vatthu
VvA. = Vimāna-vatthu Commentary

* The Pali texts referred to are those published by the Pali Text Society.

FOREWORD

The second volume of the *Mahāvastu* corresponds to the second of the three sections into which, on the analogy of the *Nidāna-kathā*, the whole of the work may be divided. In effect, we have in this volume what corresponds to the *Avidūre-nidāna*, or the more recent history of Gotama the Buddha, as compared on the one hand with his history in the far-distant past when he was proclaimed as future Buddha by Dīpaṃkara, and on the other hand with the still more recent establishment of the Buddhist Order as recounted in the latter part of the third volume.

The first volume will already have shown us, however, that we must not expect in this section to find a connected and straight-running account of Gotama's career. We have seen in that volume abundant examples of the proclivity of the compilers of the *Mahāvastu* to include in this canonical work of their sect every possible piece of tradition which bore on their subject. In so far as this proclivity is evident, we may say that the whole work has a certain pattern, in spite of the chaotic accumulation of all sorts of Buddhistic lore, Jātakas, Avadānas, and Sūtras. Every possible incident, for example, in Gotama's career is made the occasion for relating an edifying Jātaka or Avadāna, which is often repeated in varying versions. Whatever length of time may have separated the latest from the earliest compilers, this aim of comprehensiveness was consistently pursued, so much so that in the process the *Mahāvastu* lost almost all the features of a Vinaya, which it claimed to be.

This characteristic of the *Mahāvastu* gives it not the least of its many attractions to the student of Buddhism and its literature. For it thereby affords instructive material for the study of the growth of the legend of the Buddha. Careful analysis of the various repetitive versions, coupled with a critical comparison with the versions in other texts will often prove useful for determining the original form of the tradition.

More than one reviewer of the first volume of this translation remarked on the preponderance of references to Pali texts in

the footnotes. This reliance on Pali texts is admitted, but it was due not to any preconceived notion of the uniformly greater age or importance of Pali texts as compared with Sanskrit, but solely to the fact that these latter texts were not available to the translator. He was able on one occasion to borrow a copy of *Lalita Vistara*, but only for a limited period. For the rest he was forced to rely on Pali texts, all of those published by the Pali Text Society being permanently on hand.

The translator is of opinion that the comparative study of the *Mahāvastu*, as of other Buddhist texts, must proceed from the assumption that both Pali and Sanskrit texts preserve as a fixed core a very primitive tradition. This tradition, whether written or spoken, was originally preserved in a language closely related to, but not wholly identical with, either Pali or Buddhist Sanskrit. In all texts moreover, irrespective of language, earlier and later strata may be distinguished. It is just an accident of history that some of the Pali texts were fixed and codified first, and so became less exposed to modernisation and corruption. But the late writers of the Commentaries on Pali texts were under no such restriction, and it is often in their works that we are most likely to find parallels to much of the varied contents of the *Mahāvastu*, but by no means to all of them.

This, however, is not the place to institute a detailed comparison. As was said in the Foreword to the first volume, that must await the completion of the third volume of the translation. But a few hints as to the nature of the critical problems of the *Mahāvastu* may be given here.

Not the least important part of the comparative study of the *Mahāvastu* will have to do with the numerous Jātakas, many, but not all, of which are found in Pali also. Here it can only be suggested that, when that comparative study is achieved, it will have been found impossible to frame a general statement, and say of the whole ensemble of the Pali Jātakas that they are earlier and more original than the *Mahāvastu* versions. On the contrary, there is sufficient evidence in this present volume that some of its Jātakas are more original, because more coherent, than the corresponding Pali ones. Similarly, some of the latter in their turn have better preserved texts.

The long *Kuśa Jātaka* is interesting in this respect. The second volume of the *Mahāvastu* has a version which is mostly in prose, and shows many differences from the Pali version. The third volume, however, has another version largely in verse, and this approximates more closely to the Pali. Now the first version is obviously an elaboration of a more primitive form of the story, and this elaboration is quite in the peculiar style of the *Mahāvastu*. Not only is a folk-tale prefixed to explain the name of Ikṣvāku as he who was born of a sugar-cane (*ikṣu*) but every opportunity is taken to multiply details. When Kuśa, for example, is trying to gain access to his lost wife Sudarśanā by displaying his skill at various crafts, the narrator of the *Mahāvastu* is not content with the four crafts mentioned in the Pali Jātaka, but prolongs the tale by making Kuśa try his hand at as many as a dozen different crafts. And more than that, every possible ware that could be produced by each craft must be mentioned—so detailed in fact, does the story become here that some of the wares have names unknown to the dictionaries.

Coming to an incident in Gotama's life which may have a nucleus of historical fact, we find in the Asita story another example of the *Mahāvastu's* compilers' eagerness to include every version of the story that was known to them. There is a prose version of it followed by a metrical version. E. J. Thomas in his *Life of the Buddha as legend and history* has already made a suggestive study of the various versions of this tale. He concludes that the version in the *Nālaka-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta* is the oldest one. The affinities of the *Mahāvastu* versions are with this rather than with that in the *Nidāna-kathā*.

As in both Pali texts, Asita's nephew is called Nālaka, while in the *Lalita Vistara* his name is Nāradatta. But the *Mahāvastu* must needs finish off the relation by tacking on to the metrical version a fragment of another version in which the nephew is named Nārada, and, moreover, as in a Tibetan version, is identified with Kātyāyana. (See Rockhill *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 18, quoted by E. J. Thomas, p. 43.)

Of other instances of repetitive versions of the same episode, it will be found that some have obvious affinities with *Lalita Vistara* and other Sanskrit texts, and others with Pali texts.

Such is the case, for example, with the different versions of the Sujātā story.

These instances have been adduced more or less at random to give some indication of the problems implicit in these varied versions, and of the importance of their solution for an understanding of the composition of the *Mahāvastu*. Minute analysis, careful examination of language and metre, and detailed comparison with versions in other texts will be necessary before these problems can be solved. In some cases they will have to be left unsolved. For not all the varieties of the tradition from which the compilers culled have been preserved elsewhere. Some will be found to have no parallel. Others, however, were so fixed at the time they were incorporated in our text that they had already been given a name. The *Dhammapada*, for instance, is quoted by name, though not always from the version of it known to us in Pali. But the outstanding example of the incorporation of a named work is that of the *Avalokita-sūtra*. There are really two sūtras of this name expressly so called in their respective colophons. The second bears a certain degree of resemblance to the *Avalokana-sūtra* quoted as an independent work by Śāntideva in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya*. The first has equal claims to be regarded as an independent work. The subject of both sūtras is practically identical, namely, the events immediately preceding the enlightenment, and the defeat of Māra. There are variations in the treatment of the subject, of course, sufficient in fact to make of each an entirely independent work. Besides, the occasions on which each was purported to have been delivered by the Buddha are not identical. The second is also characterised by a long metrical passage proclaiming the merits which accrue from making various offerings or performing acts of adoration at the stupas of the Buddha. In this passage the religious worship of the Buddha seems to reach the acme of its development.

Interesting and important though these literary problems may be, it must not be assumed that they exhaust the value of the *Mahāvastu*. Primarily, this work must be regarded as the religious scriptures of a branch of the oldest of the Buddhist sects. From this point of view it contains much that is of value for the student of religion and morals. There may not

be much in the work that reminds us that originally Buddhism was a code of morals, although its moral teaching is often set forth in verse of singular beauty. But as an example of how admiration for a great man and his teaching developed into the worship of that man as a divinity of infinite power and goodness, the *Mahāvastu* is worthy of careful study. If some of the language in it savours of the extravagant, that is always more or less the case when the attempt is made to express the infinite in terms of the finite.

The pleasant task remains of most gratefully acknowledging once again the generous help given to the translator by Miss I. B. Horner. The frequent references to her in the footnotes are but a small measure of her contribution to the work. She read the whole work in manuscript and proof and made numerous suggestions for its correction and improvement. She helped also with encouragement to carry on when the difficulties seemed insurmountable.

The translator is glad also to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. W. Stede in giving him his interpretation of the difficult word *ovāha* (p. 278)—one of the many words in this volume which must for the present remain enigmatical.

J. J. Jones.

Aberystwyth,
October, 1951.

THE BIRTH OF GOTAMA[1]

(1) Now a Bodhisattva at the time of his passing away from Tuṣita[2] makes his four great surveys, namely, of the time in which he is to be reborn, the place, the continent, and the family.

Bodhisattvas are born in one of two classes of families, either a noble[3] or a brāhman family. When the nobles dominate the earth, the Bodhisattvas are born in a noble family. When the brāhmans dominate the earth, they are born in a brāhman family. And, monks, whatever family a Bodhisattva is born in is endowed with sixty qualities. What sixty? That family is distinguished. It has nothing to do with what is trivial.[4] It is of high birth and lineage, with a long and distinguished ancestry. It is rich in women and in men. It is not avaricious, and is without defect, baseness or meanness. It is wise and virtuous; it does not seek honour, but makes use of its wealth. It is steadfast in friendship, grateful and devout. Its conduct is not motived by favouritism, malice, folly or fear. It is irreproachable[5] and hospitable.[6] It is manly minded, steadfastly, nobly and superbly heroic. It honours shrines, devas and old friends. It is zealous in duty and in charity. It enjoys continuity,[7] is renowned, and of good repute among devas. It is foremost, (2) supreme, pre-eminent among families, and has ascendancy over other families. It wields great power, and has a large,

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[1] This account of the birth of the Buddha Gotama is practically identical, word by word, with the account in Vol. 1 (pp. 197 *ff.*) of the birth of the son of King Arcimat, the Buddha Dīpaṃkara.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 4, *n.* 11.

[3] Kṣatriya.

[4] *Akṣudrāvacara.* Vol. 1, p. 197 (text) has *akṣudrāvakāśa.*

[5] *Anavadyabhīru*, for *avadyabhīru* of Vol. 1, p. 198 (text). The latter compound means "fearful of what is blameworthy." Formally, the former should mean the exact opposite "fearful of what is not blameworthy," but, if the reading is correct, it must be taken as a direct negative of the latter compound as a whole, *an-avadyabhīru*, which can be interpreted to mean "not (having cause to) fear anything blameworthy," *i.e.* not guilty of any blameable act.

[6] *Sthūlabhikṣa.* See Vol. 1, p. 156, *n.* 3.

[7] *Ātmapūrvāpara* in the text. Vol. 1, p. 198, (text) however, has *labdhapūrvāpara.* Senart, therefore, suggests the emendation of *ātma* into *ātta* (*ā* – *dā*), which would give the same sense exactly as *labdha.* For the interpretation, see Vol. 1, p. 156, *n.* 4.

tireless, faithful and loyal retinue. It respects mothers and fathers, recluses, brāhmans and nobles. It is rich in wealth, treasures and granaries, in elephants, horses, goats and sheep, in female and male slaves, and in men servants. It is inviolable[1] by strangers, rivals and foes. Whatever family a Bodhisattva is born in is endowed with these sixty qualities.[2] All those beings who are reborn in such a family come to have the 'Great Compassion'.[3]

Then, when it was time for the Bodhisattva to depart from Tuṣita he made his great preparation. Thousands of devas, including the Cāturmahārājika devas,[4] and all the Kāmāvacara[5] devas, gathered together in Tuṣita at the time of the Bodhisattva's departure. Bimbisāra[6] was the first to be spoken to, and he was thus bidden, "Be reborn in Rājagṛiha. As you have been trained in the Discipline,[7] the great multitude will then take to the way of it." Similarly, the merchant Abhaya[8] and other wealthy laymen and brāhmans quickly rose up to depart from Tuṣita.

Next Udayana,[9] the king of the Vatsas, was thus bidden, "Be reborn in Kauśambī. As you have been trained in the Discipline, the great multitude will take to the way of it." Similarly, the layman Ghoṣila[10] and other wealthy nobles and brāhmans were bidden. In this way thousands of devas accompanied the Exalted One as he passed on into his new birth, and were reborn in the sixteen great provinces of Jambudvīpa,[11] in the families of wealthy nobles, brāhmans

[1] *Apradharṣya.* Cf. *duṣpradharṣya* of Vol. 1, p. 198 (text). The *P.E.D.*, *s.v.* *appadhaṃsa*, equates this with Sk. *apradhvaṃsa*, "not to be destroyed," citing *J.* 4. 344, where the variant reading is *suppadhaṃsa*. The same dictionary, however, *s.v.* *dhaṃsati*, while relating this verb to Vedic *dhvaṃsayati*, "to fall to dust," etc., and its causative *dhaṃseti* to Sk. *dhvaṃsayati*, adds that the causative is more likely the equivalent of Sk. *dharṣayati* "to infest, molest, etc." The *Mhvu.* forms seem to support this latter suggestion.

[2] In round number, of course.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 157, *n.* 1.

[4] See Vol. 1, p. 25, *n.* 3.

[5] See Vol. 1, p. 126, *n.* 1.

[6] *I.e.* Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. See Vol. 1, p. 210, *n.* 1. Bimbisāra and the other persons named here, are, of course, devas still bearing the names they had when they were human beings on earth.

[7] *Vinaya.*

[8] See Vol. 1, p. 141. If the two are identical.

[9] The Udena of the Pali texts, king at Kauśambī (Kosambī), the capital of the Vatsas (*D.P.N.*).

[10] Pali Ghosaka or Ghosita, who became treasurer of king Udena (*D.P.N.*).

[11] See Vol. 1, p 7 *n.* 2; p. 157, *n.* 2.

and laymen. They said to one another, "Without a doubt, since you are trained in the great Discipline, the great multitude also will take to the way of it."

The Bodhisattva considered the matter of the place in which he should be reborn. "This king Śuddhodana[1]," thought he, "is worthy to be my father." He then sought a mother who should be gracious, of good birth, pure of body, tender of passion, and short-lived, of whose span of life there remained only seven nights and ten months.

(3) *The mothers of all Bodhisattvas die on the last of the seven days following their delivery of the Supreme of Men. Now what is the reason why mothers of an Omniscient One should die so soon after giving birth to the Best of Men?*

While he is still dwelling in Tuṣita the Bodhisattva makes this his care as he searches for a mother whose karma is good.

"I will descend," says he, "into the womb of a woman who has only seven nights and ten months of her life remaining."

And why so? "Because," says he, "it is not fitting that she who bears a Peerless One like me should afterwards indulge in love."

For if the mothers of a Sugata[2] should indulge in the pleasures of love, the hosts of devas would say that the king was violating his duty.[3]

The Exalted One, indeed, at all times proclaims the depravity of sensual desires. Should then the mother of the Saviour of the world indulge in the pleasures of sense?

(To take an illustration from) the jewel-caskets which are found in the palaces of princes, the Best of Men is the jewel, his mother the casket.

While he seeks a mother who was to be short-lived on earth, the Bodhisattva sees in Kapilavastu[4] the chief queen of Śuddhodana. And she was gracious, of good birth, pure of body, tender of passion, and short-lived; for of the span

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 113, etc.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 4, *n.* 12.
[3] See Vol. 1, p. 157, *n.* 3.
[4] See Vol. 1, p. 1, *n.* 6, and index.

of her life only seven nights and ten months remained. Then the Bodhisattva thought to himself, "She is worthy to be my mother."

As he contemplates the world, in Śuddhodana's court (4)
he beholds Māyā, a woman like the consort of an immortal, radiant as the lightning's flash.

Observing in her his mother, he said to the immortals, "I am passing hence. For the last time I take up my abode in a woman's womb for the sake of devas and men."

The deva host, arrayed in fine jewels, raised their joined hands and spoke to him, saying, "O Man Supreme, whose beauty is sublime, may thy vow prosper.

"We, too, for the world's sake, and to do thee honour, O Blameless One,[1] *will renounce the sweet enjoyment of sensual pleasures, and go and dwell in the world of men."*

Exultantly they poured down from the sky a shower of the bright flowers of the coral-tree, and praised him in sweet words: "How marvellous it is," said they, "that thou dost not desire the abodes of the immortals, where sweet peace reigns and where is no tribulation nor pain, and dost not crave for the pleasures of sense.

"Marvellous is it too that, excelling the deva hosts and shining like a mountain of gold, O valiant Sura,[2] *thou lightest up the ten quarters of the world.*

"Thou whose intelligence is infinite excellest the Maheśvara[3] *and Dānava*[4] *devas, the hosts of Māra,*[5] *and the stars that move in the sky.*

"How then can we be other than loth to part from thee, O Master of all that is.[6] *Thou, moreover, O Lotus-eyed One, will become the bourne of men and devas."*

Thus, at the time and on the occasion of the departure of him whose eyes were bright like the hundred-petalled lotus, did the glad hosts of devas shout through the ten quarters of the world.

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 158, *n.* 1.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 56, *n.* 1.
[3] See Vol. 1, p. 178, *n.* 2.
[4] See Vol. 1, p. 55, *n.* 3.
[5] See Vol. 1, p. 33, *n.* 8.
[6] *Bhūtasanghaguru.*

Such was the talk in the city of Tuṣita whilst the peerless Māyā, Śuddhodana's chief queen, went up to the king and said to him—

(5) *She, with eyes like a young fawn's, radiant like a Gandharva's*[1] *wife, and dusky, spoke earnestly*[2] *and sweetly to Śuddhodana:*

"Adorned with jewels, wearing my choicest raiment, and attended by my friends, I wish to spend the night away from you who are the joy of the Śākyans.[3]

"O king, I would go up to the highest part of Dhṛitarāśtra's[4] *fair palace, to lie abed there in the lotus-like pure abode."*

Pleased with the charming speech of his queen, King Śuddhodana with joyful intent addressed his courtiers, saying,

"Quickly let me know where Dhṛitarāśtra is. Have it wreathed in fair flowers, and strewn with heaps of flowers, that it be like a deva's abode in heaven.

"Speedily make Dhṛitarāśtra resplendent with festoons of bright cloth. Have it covered with a network of gold, so that in appearance it be like Sumeru's[5] *fair summit.*

"Let an entire army,[6] *bristling with spears, arrows and lances, at once stand guard over Dhṛitarāśtra's stately pile."*[7]

The king's orders were carried out, and when all had been made ready his courtiers[8] *approached the king and said to him:*

"May our great protector protect the race of men for a full thousand years yet! All is ready. The noble mansion stands resplendent, and will give you a thrill of joy."

Then Māyā, like the consort of an immortal, rose up from her lovely couch(6) *and said to the king just as the sun had set, "I will cultivate harmlessness towards living things,*

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 98, *n.* 3.
[2] *Sahitam.* See Vol. I, p. 115, *n.* 2.
[3] See Vol. I, *passim* and index.
[4] Here not the name of one of the "Four Great Kings" (see Vol. I, p. 25, *n.* 3) but of some place or palace otherwise unknown.
[5] See Vol. I, p. 77, *n.* 2.
[6] Literally "of four limbs or parts," *caturanginī*, *i.e.* warriors on elephants, on horseback, in chariots, and on foot.
[7] *Manojñasaṃghāta.* Cf. Vol. I, p. 159, *n.* 6.
[8] Reading *svakulam*, as in Vol. I, p. 201 (text), for *sakuśalam* of the text.

and the chaste life. I will abstain from theft, intoxication and frivolous speech.

" I will, my lord, refrain from unkindly[1] *speech and from slander. I will, O king, refrain from abusive speech. This is my resolve.*

" I will not nurse envy of the pleasures of others, nor cause injury to living things. And I will abjure false beliefs.

" I will, O king, follow these eleven rules of moral conduct.[2] *All this night has this resolve been stirring in me.*

" Do not then, I pray you, O king, desire me[3] *with thoughts of sensual delights. See to it that you be guiltless of offence against me who would observe chastity."*

The king replied, " I shall have all your wishes fulfilled. Be at ease, you who have entered upon a noble life. I and my whole realm are at your command."

She forthwith took all her thousand maidens, went up to the fair mansion, and lay down, her dear wish fulfilled.

And then on that bed of the colour of the snow-white lotus she whiled away the time in silence, contentedly calm and self-controlled.

She laid down her beautiful body on its right side, and she lay clinging to the bed as the flowering creeper clings to a tree.

Then, espying the queen on her bed, beautiful as a celestial maiden, throngs of devas came down from their home in Tuṣita and alighted on the terrace.

(7) *All these immortals ecstatically bowing their heads and raising their joined hands, lauded the virtuous Māyā, the Conqueror's mother, as she lay on the bed.*

Then in great excitement a large throng of deva-maidens carrying fair garlands came, eager to see the Conqueror's mother, and alighted on the terrace.

When they had come and seen Māyā on her bed in beauty that dazzled like the lightning's flash, they were filled with great joy and happiness, and showered on her the flowers from heaven.

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[1] *Akhila.* See Vol. 1, p. 160, *n.* 2.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 115, *n.* 3.

[3] The locative *mayi* is here used as the object of *pratikānkṣi,* but the accusative, *māṃ,* in the corresponding passages in Vol. 1, pp. 145, 202 (text). Probably the scribe accidentally copied *mayi* from the next line, where it recurs in a regular usage.

Having stood awhile in contemplation of such a wondrous and lovely, albeit human form, they said among themselves,[1] *"There is no one like her to be found even among the wives of the devas.*

"Ah! dear friends, observe the loveliness of this woman. How befitting a Conqueror's mother it is! As she lies on her bed she is radiant, alluring, and gleaming as with the sheen of gold.[2]

"She will bear a Great Man[3] *who takes exceeding delight in charity, self-control and morality, who makes an end of all the* āśravas,[4] *and who is free from passion. What more can you want, O queen?*

"O woman, whose belly, with its bright streak of downy hair, curves like the palm of the hand, of you will be born he whose thought is boundless, who is ever undefiled, unsullied by what is foul.

"Rich virtue beyond compare has in a long course of time been acquired by this woman, who will bear him whose worth is illimitable and who is strong with the merit gained during a long time.

"You are a worthy woman, supreme among women. And your son will be the Pre-eminent of Men, who has abandoned lust and is rid of passion. What more can you want, O queen?"

Then Rākṣasas[5] *of various shapes were thus commanded: "Ye wielders of brave weapons, quickly take up positions in all quarters of the sky, and clear all its spaces of obstacles."*

(8) *Next to these the horde of fork-tongued Nāgas,*[6] *whose anger is stirred to flame by the slightest breeze they hear stirring, stood on guard in the regions of the sky.*

Next to these the Yakṣas,[7] *a monstrous crowd with flaming crests, were posted, and bidden to ward off all who were malevolent, but to kill no one.*

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[1] *Antarato.* See Vol. I, p. 116, *n.* I.
[2] Reading *kanakamarīci*, as in Vol. I, p. 203 (text), for *kanakalti*, "stream of gold."
[3] *Mahāpuruṣa.* See Vol. I, p. 33, *n.* I.
[4] See Vol. I, p. 49, *n.* 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 73, *n.* 5.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 35, *n.* 4.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 25, *n.* I.

And next the numerous band of the Gandharvas, comely of form, with shining bows, stood to guard him, whose mind is pure, at the moment of his descent.

The Four Lords of the world,[1] *too, stood in the air along with their retinues. "For to-day," said they, "the Exalted One is coming down to earth to bring welfare, happiness and prosperity to the world."*

Along with the Three-and-Thirty[2] *devas their chief,*[3] *the bearer of the wheel, stood in the air, saying, "Soon the Exalted One in his yearning for the utmost happiness of the world will make his last descent."*

A great host of devas, raising their joined hands and bowing at Māyā's feet, looked out for the coming of the Conqueror from Tuṣita and uttered sweet words, saying,

"O thou who art strong with the merit won by purification, now is it time for thee to enter[4] *upon thy last existence. Thy mother is ready. Now have pity upon afflicted mankind."*

"Lo, I depart." So did the Exalted One speak out and utter the happy word. And at that very moment the Conqueror's mother saw in a dream him who had won maturity of fruition,

Entering her[5] *body in the form of a noble elephant, light of step, flawless of limb, gleaming like snow-white silver, with six tusks, a gracefully waving trunk and a crimson head.*

Bodhisattvas do not descend into their mothers' womb during the dark fortnight, but on the night of the full moon in the month Pauṣa.[6] (9) Bodhisattvas enter the womb of a mother who observes the fasts, who is outstanding among women, who is joyful, distinguished, holding no intercourse with what is mean, who is gracious, pure of body, and tender of passion, is of good birth and family, comely, beautiful, renowned, tall and well-proportioned and accomplished, and who is in the prime of life, learned, wise, mindful, self-possessed, in all ways right-minded and perfect—the very best of women.

[1] See Vol. 1, p. 25, *n.* 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, *n.* 2.
[3] *I.e.* Śakra (Sakra) or Indra.
[4] For the expected infinitive *upetum* dependent on *samaya* as in Vol. 1, p. 204, the text here has the independent imperative *upehi*. An echo of the former reading seems to be found in the reading *upeti* of one MS here.
[5] The text has *me* "my" for *se* (see *n.* 5, p. 13) "her."
[6] See Vol. 1, p. 162, *n.* 5.

A radiance was shed by the Bodhisattva that illumined a whole Buddha-field.[1] Then one deva asks another:

> "*Why is a radiance shed by the excellent Sura which is serener than the moonbeam and is pure like gold and gladdens the lords of the Asuras*[2] *and of men, and the fiery flaming hells?*"

And that deva replies:

> "*The radiance is shed as a greeting by the liberating, sinless glory of those who everywhere succour men caught in the toils of rebirth and overcome by intoxication.*"

The Bodhisattva said:

> "*Leave your cities, ye immortals. Verily, this is not the time for their delights. Rather is it the time to rive the strongholds of old age and death with the blows of knowledge.*"

The Bodhisattva entered his mother's womb, thoughtful, self-possessed and right-minded.

> *The lion-hearted man, roaring a lion's roar, when it is the time and the occasion for him to pass away departs instantly, and re-appears in the home of a king.*
>
> (10) *Who lights up all Tuṣita with lovely radiance, and now leaves the cities of the devas, him, the unsurpassed Conqueror, do I extol.*
>
> *This incomparable Light of the World illumines with his beauty the whole world, including Brahmā's world and all the race of men, brāhmans and recluses.*
>
> *Behold this wonder and this marvel, that the powerful Master, mindful and self-possessed, has come down into his mother's womb,*
>
> *That the Very Best of Men, bearing the marks of excellence, mindful and self-possessed has taken his place in his mother's womb.*

As soon as the Bodhisattva had descended, this great earth trembled, shook and quaked violently six times. There was

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 95, *n.* 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24, *n.* 2.

something thrilling[1] in this quaking, something gleeful, gladdening, admirable, cheerful, assuring, graceful, joyful and serene, causing no injury nor fear. For while the earth quaked it destroyed no life whatever, whether animal or plant.

Then this earth bounded by ocean and Mount Meru quaked six times. And the worlds were made bright and lovely by the splendour of him who dispels the great darkness.

All the Nāga kings and lords eagerly gathered together to mount watch and ward.

The Four Great Lords of the world, too, watched over the Saviour of the world, lest any malevolent being harm him who was to rout the power of Namuci.[2]

(11) Śakra, also, lord of devas, and the devas Suyāma, Santuṣita and Sunirmita,[3] the deva Vaśavartin,[4] Great Brahmā, and the Suddhāvāsa[5] devas eagerly hurried to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva when he had entered his mother's womb.

Then thousands of koṭis[6] *of delighted devas came to Kapilavastu to guard him whose wisdom is choicest.*

The city of Kapilavastu is become the chief of cities, like a city of the devas. It is all radiant with the hosts of immortals who enter it and whose coming is swift as thought.

Thousands of lordly hosts,[7] *completely stainless,*[8] *quickly come to take up their stations in the sky to wait upon Māyā.*

Behind them thousands of deva chiefs with spotless crests take up their stations in great numbers to guard him whose worth is great.

Behind these deva lords thousands of nayutas[9] *of Kāmāvacara devas take their places in the unsupporting air.*

Behind these deva hosts again, Asuras, throngs of fork-tongued Asuras, Yakṣas of strange forms, and hordes of Rākṣasas take their places.

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 164, *n.* I.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 165, *n.* 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 165, *n.* 4.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 28, *n.* 4.
[6] See Vol. I, p. 3, *n.* 5.
[7] *Maheśvaras.* See Vol. I, p. 178, *n.* 2.
[8] *Vigatamalamakhila.* A rather irregular compound.
[9] See Vol. I, p. 4, *n.* 7.

In this way the air, thronged by hundreds of thousands of immortals, was glorified and utterly purified, for so great was the virtue stored up by the Benefactor.[1]

When the mighty and mindful one passed away from his abode in Tuṣita, taking on the form of an elephant of the colour of a snow-white boar,

Mindful, self-possessed and virtuous he descended into his mother's womb as she lay abed high up in the palace,[2] *fasting and clothed in pure raiment.*

(12) *At break of day she said to her gracious spouse, "Noble king (in my dream I saw) a white and lordly elephant come down into my womb."*

When the king heard this he summoned the diviners[3] *and bade them all declare the full portent of this dream.*

The diviners said in reply to the king, " He who bears the thirty-two marks has come down into the queen's womb.

" O king, you should rejoice because of him who has appeared in your family. O sovereign of earth, the heroic child in the womb is the peerless Great Being.

" According to what I myself have learnt from the teachers of old, one of two alternative careers lies before him, O valiant king.

" If he remains in the world, he will become a mighty lord, possessing treasures, powerful, always attended by victory, and with a hundred thousand kings in his train.

" But if he embraces the religious life and renounces the sovereignty of the four continents, he will become a self-guiding Buddha, the guide of men and devas."

The[4] *Śākyan lady told her dream to her gracious spouse. " I saw," said she, " a white and lordly elephant come down and enter my womb."*

When the king heard this he assembled the diviners and said to them, " Do you all declare the full portent of this dream."

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[1] *I.e.* the Bodhisattva.
[2] Reading *vīrāsane* for *vīraśayane*. See Vol. 1, p. 164, *n*. 3.
[3] *Vaipañcika*. See Vol. 1, p. 164, *n*. 4.
[4] A repetition of the above account taken from another source. Its fragmentariness is betrayed by the inconsequential *punar* " again ", " on the other hand."

The diviners said in reply to the king, " He who bears the thirty-two marks has come down into the queen's womb.

" If on the other hand, he continues to dwell at home he will conquer the whole earth. (13) *He will have as sons a thousand Suras, such heroes*[1] *will they be.*

" But if he renounces his domain, which is so full of inexhaustible mines of wealth, and takes up the religious life, he will become a Buddha, all-knowing and all-seeing."

Great Brahmā said:

" The woman who in her dream has seen the sun from the sky enter her womb will give birth to one who is the woman's jewel, her husband's treasure. He will be a universal king.

" The woman who in her dream has seen the moon from the sky enter her womb will give birth to a son who is both man and deva. He will be a mighty universal king.

" The woman who in her dream has seen the sun from the sky enter her womb will give birth to one who bears the marks of excellence. He will be a mighty universal king.

" The woman who in her dream has seen a white elephant enter her womb will give birth to a being as select as the elephant is among animals.[2] *He will be a Buddha who knows the Good and the True."*

The queen is asked, " Whom do you bear ? " And she replies, " A universal king."

(14) *" I bear a universal ruler, a choice man, a valiant king, who illumines my womb with his golden beauty, and is endowed with the marks of excellence."*

But the devas in the sky acclaimed him with the title of " Exalted One," saying, " He will become a Buddha, not a universal king." And Great Brahmā recited this verse:

" You bear one who is as an elephant among men, the best of treasures, the destroyer of the force and violence of intoxication, the dispeller of dark and murky folly, the storehouse of good qualities, the possessor of boundless wealth, a royal seer,

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[1] *Etādriśām vīrām.* Senart suggests that it would be more natural to read *etādriśo vīro*, nom-sg., in apposition to the subject.

[2] Literally, " an elephant, the select (or elect) of beings," *gajasattvasāra*,

whose chariot wheel knows no obstacle, whose radiance is deathless."[1]

The queen replied:

"*As passion and malice no longer have sway over me who have conceived the seed of the king of men, there is no doubt he will be of such splendour as you say.*"

Again, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, his mother[2] is comfortable whether she moves, stands, sits or lies down, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. No weapon can pierce her body, nor can poison, fire or sword prevail against her, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. Deva maidens attend to her with preparations[3] made in heaven for cleaning and massaging the body. She is clothed in celestial raiment and adorned with celestial jewels, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She obtains celestial perfumes, garlands, cosmetics and incenses, because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana,[4] (15) when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, owing to his power all her[5] escort deem her worthy of perfect obedience and loyalty, and offer her their services. The Bodhisattva is able to see his mother. Nothing, not even a bird, passes over her. She becomes sound and healthy. She enjoys a digestive heat that is equable, being neither too cold nor too hot and thus ensuring a regular digestion. She receives the choicest solid and soft food of the best and most superlative flavour. She becomes rid of passion and lives an unimpaired, flawless, unspotted, untarnished and absolutely pure and chaste life. In the heart of this pre-eminent woman no passion arises for any man, not even for King Śuddhodana. She lives in accordance with the five moral precepts,[6] observing them to the full.[7]

Again, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb

[1] Reading *amararuci* as in Vol. 1, p. 211 (text), for *samaruci*; or, perhaps, *asamaruci*, "whose radiance is unequalled."

[2] Senart retains the form *mātu*: for the nom., which, he says, 'n'a rien d'invraisemblable.'

[3] Reading *pariṣkārehi* for *pariśeṣehi* of the text.

[4] Inadvertently introduced here from Vol. 1, p. 211 (text), where he is the recipient of the parallel account of the birth of Dīpaṃkara.

[5] *Se* = *asyā:*

[6] See Vol. 1, p. 168, *n.* 1.

[7] Reading *sampūrṇasamādinnāni*, as in Vol. 1, p. 211 (text), for *sapūrva-*.

all Nāga kings and lords, whether born of eggs or from the womb, or from moisture, or spontaneously,[1] enter her abode and sprinkle her with celestial sandal-wood powder, with celestial powder of *tamāla*[2] leaves, with celestial aloe-wood powder, with celestial *keśara*[3] powder and celestial flowers. They laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise. And when they have sprinkled her with celestial sandal-wood powder, they sprinkle her with celestial aloe-wood powder, *keśara* powder and *tamāla* powder. And when they have sprinkled her with showers of celestial blossoms and **(16)** lauded her with perfect and consummate praise, they thrice salute the Bodhisattva's mother from the right and go their way. (And all this is) through the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb all the Suparṇa[4] kings and lords, the Caturmahārājika devas, the Trāyastriṃśa[5] devas, the Yāma[6] devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati[7] devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin[8] devas, and the Brahmā devas enter her abode and sprinkle her with celestial powder of the sandal-wood and the aloe-wood. They sprinkle her with celestial powder of *tamāla* leaves, with celestial showers of blossoms, and laud her with perfect, consummate and absolutely pure praise. Then saluting her thrice from the right they go their way. (All this is) through the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb he does not occupy a position that is either too high or too low. He does not lie on his face, nor on his back, nor on his left side, nor squatting on his heels.[9] But he sits in his mother's right side with his legs crossed. He is not polluted by bile, phlegm, blood or any other foul matter, but remains clean. For while the Bodhisattva is in his mother's womb he has his body rubbed with perfumes and washed clean. He is able to see his mother, while she in her turn can see the Bodhisattva in her

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[1] Cf. *M.* 1. 73.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 168, *n.* 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 32, *n.* 3.
[4] Text has *Suvarṇa*. See Vol. 1, p. 165, *n.* 2.
[5] See Vol. 1, p. 25, *n.* 2.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 28, *n.* 1.
[7] *Ibid.*, *n.* 3.
[8] *Ibid.*, *n.* 4.
[9] *Utkuṭuka.* See Vol. 1, p. 169, *n.* 1.

womb like a body of pure gold and is enraptured at the sight.

Just as though a gem of beryl in a crystal casket were placed in her curving lap, so does his mother see the Bodhisattva like a body of pure gold illumining her womb.

(**17**) Hosts of devas come by night and by day to inquire after his welfare. And the Bodhisattva is pleased at their doing this, and greets them by raising his right hand, but without hurting his mother. Neither the devas, nor the Nāgas nor the Yakṣas, nor the Māruts[1], nor the Rākṣasas, nor the Piśācas[2] leave him by day or night. Nor is there any talk of the affections there, nor of sensual pleasures, nor any other trivial talk. But they speak of nothing other than the Bodhisattva's beauty, his comeliness, his being, his might, his complexion, his glory and his root of virtue. Their worship of the Bodhisattva in his mother's womb does not cease. Celestial musical instruments are played, celestial scents of aloe-wood are wafted and celestial flowers and powders rain down. And thousands of Apsarases[3] sing and dance around. The Bodhisattva's mother laughs and talks with thousands of deva maidens. And when she falls asleep the deva maidens briskly fan her with garlands of the coral-tree. (All this is) through the power of the Bodhisattva.

Such then is this perfect descent into the womb, unsurpassed in the great system of three-thousand worlds.

And now behold another marvel, the marvel of the talk, begetting the most perfect ecstasy, that there was among that large concourse of devas.

Theirs was no talk of sensual delight, nor of Apsarases, nor of song, nor of instrumental music, nor of eating and drinking.

Theirs was no talk of jewels, nor of dress. No talk of

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[1] *Mārutas*. This form of the name denotes the Mārutas, "gods of the winds" regarded as the children of Diti (*M.W.*). It occurs again on p. 381 (text), but the present passage seems to be the only place in the *Mhvu.* where they are mentioned along with demons or spirits like *Nāgas*, *Yakṣas*, etc. In Vol. 1 *marutas* is used at least twice as a synomym for *devas*. See p. 119, *n*. 2, and p. 179, *n*. 2.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 74, *n*. 2.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 27, *n*. 2.

driving or of pleasure-gardens occurred to their minds. "Oh! Good is the inimitable light of the Leader who is strong through his merit. It outshines the worlds of men and devas." Such is the clear-toned talk that goes on there.

(18) *"Oh! Good is the conception that befits the karma of him who has won perfection." Such is the varied talk that goes on in that gathering.*

With these pure[1] *psalms of acclamation for him whose wisdom is excellent they while away the time. Such is the talk that goes on in that gathering.*

And so the devas rejoice as they relate these varied themes, telling of his beauty, his complexion, his might, his excellence and his valiant conduct.

The mothers of all Bodhisattvas are delivered when the tenth month is completed.

The Śākyan Subhūti[2] sent a message to the king, saying, "Let the queen come hither; she shall be delivered here". The king replied that she should come and break the branch of the *Sāl* tree.[3]

Quickly make ready Lumbinī's grove[4] *by clearing it of grass, litter and leaves. Make it a mass of fair and fragrant flowers, and make it sweetly smelling with scented water.*

In Lumbinī's grove let sportive[5] *breezes laden with the scent of* tamāla *leaves diffuse an ambrosial fragrance. May the boisterous*[6] *breezes be gone.*

Let clouds charged with the fragrance of aloe-wood quickly[7] *descend from the sky to shade Lumbinī's grove, so that it be full of the aroma of exquisite powders.*

Adorn each fair pathway with jute and wool and silken

[1] See Vol. 1, p. 171, *n.* 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[3] *I.e.*, the Bodhisattva's mother will be delivered as she clings to a branch of this tree. But elsewhere in the *Mhvu.* (Vol. 1, p. 118) and even in the sequel of the present account, it was to a branch of the wavy-leafed fig-tree (*plakṣa*) that Māyā clung. *J.* 1. 52 has the same tradition as the present passage that the tree was the Sāl tree.

[4] See Vol. 1, p. 78, *n.* 1.

[5] Reading *salīlā* for *śarīrā*, as in Vol. 1, p. 215 (text).

[6] *Madajanana.* See Vol. 1, p. 171, *n.* 4.

[7] Reading *kṣipram* as in Vol. 1, p. 215, (text) and in the MSS. The text has *kṣiptam*!

cloth, that they be like the kalpavṛikṣa[1] *trees of the lord of devas in heaven.*

Devas and deva maidens bearing scented garlands come to Lumbinī's grove.

(19) *Wearing earrings of crystal gems and resplendent garments, and carrying fragrant garlands they come floating down the pathways of the sky.*

Some carry baskets[2] *full of the flowers of the coral-tree; others baskets full of yellow sandal-wood flowers, or, again, of woven stuff.*

With joy in their hearts the Apsarases, bearing garlands of land and water flowers, and gems and jewels, turn their faces towards Jambudvīpa.

Deva maidens come floating through the air, carrying full eighty-four thousand sunshades of gold and jewels.

The air, with hundreds of pennants of woven cloth flying high, is filled as though with pinnacles bright with crystal and gems and coral.

And clouds of vapour like the breath of elephants glisten in the air with their fragrant flowery scents, a blend of lotus, water-lily and campaka[3].

Delighted serpent-lords scatter clouds of sweet-smelling vapour in the air.[4] *And there were hundreds of other marvels besides.*

When Māyā, the Conqueror's mother, surrounded by her friends, enters that fair grove, she rides on in her gay[5] *chariot, a queen like the consort of an immortal, knowing the rule of joy.*

She, coming to it in play, leant with her arm on a branch of the wavy-leafed fig-tree, and playfully stretched herself at the moment of giving birth to the Glorious One.

Then ninety thousand deva maidens quickly flocked thither, and raising their joined hands, they addressed Māyā with devotion in their hearts.

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 118, *n.* 1. *Drumavaram,* "fair tree," as in Vol. 1, p. 149 (text) is more suitable to the context than *cankramavaram.*

[2] *Śangeriyas.* See Vol. 1, p. 172, *n.* 1.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 172, *n.* 4.

[4] Reading *gaganam,* as in Vol. 1, p. 216, (text) for *nagaram,*

[5] Reading *citra,* as in Vol. 1, p. 216 (text), for *citta,*

(20) *"To-day, O queen, you will give birth to him who crushes old age and disease, a noble youth of immortal stock, honoured and beloved in heaven and on earth, a benefactor of devas and men.*

"Do not give way to anxiety, for we shall render tendance to you. Only tell us what is to be done, and lo! it is all done."

Then the Four Great Lords of the world with their thick celestial tresses of hair,[1] *attended by their retinues, quickly foregathered there, and drew near to the queen from the right.*

And all the deva hosts hovering in the air as they attended Māyā, carrying fragrant garlands in their hands, and with their attendant escorts, presented a bright array.

Again, a Bodhisattva's mother is not delivered as she lies or sits down, as other women are, but in a standing position. And the Bodhisattva, mindful and thoughtful, issues from his mother's right side without doing her any harm.

For the Supreme of Men are born from their mother's right side; it is here that all the valiant men abide when in their mother's womb.

Why is not that side of the Conqueror's mother rent as she gives birth to the Best of Men, and why does no pain ensue?

Tathāgatas[2] *are born with a body that is made of mind,*[3] *and thus the mother's body is not rent, nor does any pain ensue.*

Tired with his stay in the womb, the Bodhisattva takes seven strides.

As soon as he is born he takes seven strides over the earth, surveys the regions of it and laughs a loud laugh.

(21) *Now listen to what the tradition says as to why he takes seven strides and not eight or six.*[4]

When the Sage, the benefactor of the whole world, was tired with his stay in the womb, he stepped forth eagerly, as it was his last sojourn there.

When he had taken his seven strides a throng of devas came

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[1] *Divyapraveṇihasta.* See Vol. 1, p. 173, *n.* 3.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 1, *n.* 3.
[3] *Manomayena rūpena.* See Vol. 1, p. 174, *n.* 1.
[4] But it is the fact and not the reason that is stressed in the sequel.

floating down, and the Sage was taken up by the Lords of the world in their arms.

Then there fell a drizzling rain of celestial blossoms mingled with the powder of the coral-tree and thick with that of the celestial sandal-wood.

For a long time the exultant devas diffused the most divine incense to grace the splendour of the supremely Intelligent One.

I shall here tell, too, the tradition, the edifying doctrine as to why the Peerless Man surveys the regions of the world.

He finds not among beings, whether devas or men, one whose birth was like his, whose conception was like his.

As shining gold is the side of the Conqueror's mother of whom[1] *the Omniscient One is born into his last existence.*

As soon as he was born this was the thought that occurred to the supremely Eloquent One: "Is there anyone who is my equal in intelligence?

"Are there any who are irked[2] *by the course*[3] *of recurrent birth as I am?" It is for this purpose, to have this doubt resolved*[4]*, that the Kinsman of the Sun scans all the regions of the world.*

Then the Prince of Speakers, surveying the regions, espies (22) *thousands of* koṭis *of devas, and this is why he laughs.*

As soon as he[5] *is born the devas of Māra's world say to him, "Thou wilt become a wealthy universal king over the four continents".*

But he laughs at that, and says, "You do not know me for what I am. For I shall become the Supreme of Men, all-knowing and all-seeing".

And teachers are agreed upon this eventuality,[6] *for thus was the teaching of the lion-hearted men well proclaimed.*

The hero,[7] *whom his mother bore as she stood supporting*

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[1] Reading *yasmā*, as in Vol. I, p. 219 (text), for *yadā*.

[2] *Artīyanti.* See Vol. I, p. 174, *n.* 3, where *ārttiyante* should be corrected into *arttīyante*.

[3] *Cāreṇa.* Vol. I, p. 219 (text) has *pāśena*, "by the snare."

[4] See Vol. I, p. 175, *n.* I.

[5] Text has *me* (*sic*) for *se* = *asya*.

[6] *Vipākam.* Vol. I, p. 220 (text) has *viśeṣā*, *i.e.* "distinguished teachers are agreed upon this (*etam*)."

[7] A number of verses inserted from another source or tradition.

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her body by the flowering Sāl tree,[1] *him, the peerless Conqueror, do I extol.*

May the Sugata just now born stand[2] *on the earth with even feet.*[3] *He has taken seven strides and scanned all the regions.*

And as he walked along a fan and a sunshade of their own accord[4] *followed him, lest gadflies and gnats should alight on the body of the Omniscient One.*

As soon as the Sugata was born devas first received the Conqueror, and afterwards men bore the Peerless One in their arms.

The devas welcomed the Sugata who displayed the thirty-two marks of excellence, (23) *and afterwards men bore the Peerless One in their arms.*

The lights of men were dimmed, because the world was bathed in radiance as soon as the Sugata, the torch-bearer of men and devas, was born.

As soon as the Sugata was born his folk ran in quest of water. And lo! wells full of water, brimming over, flowed right before their eyes.

Two pitchers of water appeared, one of cold, the other of warm water, wherewith they bathed the golden body of the Sugata.

Again, because of the Bodhisattva's power, immediately after the Sugata was born, the mother of the Bodhisattva was without hurt or scar. The womb of the Bodhisattva's mother was unscathed and at ease.[5]

Again, immediately after the Bodhisattva was born there appeared amid the four million continents[6] a twig of the holy fig-tree,[7] the very finest of earth's produce. In the middle of the island[8] there appeared, through the Bodhisattva's power,

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[1] See *n.* 3, p. 116.

[2] *Avatiṣthe*, cf. Pali potential *tiṭṭhe*. Vol. 1, p. 220 (text) has *avatiṣṭhet*.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 175, *n.* 3.

[4] Reading *sāmam* for *ca-asya*, as in Vol. 1, p. 220 (text). See Vol. 1, p. 175, *n.* 4.

[5] Literally, "relaxed," "untied," *anonaddha* from *an-ava-nah.* The corresponding term in Vol. 1, p. 221 (text) is *anārabdha*, which Senart renders, "n'éprouve aucune fatigue."

[6] Literally "in the midst of the four hundred *koṭis* of continents," *caturṇām dvīpakoṭiśatānāṃ madhye.* This enumeration of continents seems to be unknown elsewhere.

[7] *Aśvattha.* The *Ficus religiosa.*

[8] This is a reminiscence of the story of the miraculously appearing island in the account of the birth of Dīpaṃkara. See Vol. 1, p. 173, p. 176, *n.* 2, and p. 182, *n.* 16.

a forest of sandal-wood trees which became a source of delight and enjoyment to the Bodhisattva.

Then thousands of devas and thousands of Apsarases bearing fragrant garlands came to do honour to the Bodhisattva. One deva asks another, "Whither do you go?" And the other replies:

> "*She, the consort of the king, is about to give birth to that peerless offspring who is bright like the flower of the blossoming lotus. Here on earth he will win the highest good, overcoming Māra and his power. It is to this hero that I repair.*
>
> (24) "*His body is untouched by the impurities of the womb, even like the exquisite lotus that is born in the mud of pools. Beautiful as the newly risen sun he excels the immortals in Brahmā's heaven*".

> *Then*[1] *as soon as he was born in a family of the Śākyans, the Wise One took seven mighty strides. Scanning the regions of the world he laughed aloud, and said, "This, at length, is my very last existence".*
>
> *And many devas held up in the sky a glittering sunshade inimitably studded with gems and pearls and outshining all others in splendour, and waved garlands of the coral-tree.*
>
> *They held up in the sky a fair and golden sunshade gleaming like a shell in the sunlight, whilst they waved cunningly-fashioned fans in their hands as they fanned the Conqueror.*
>
> *Two pitchers of water speedily appeared in the sky, one fragrant, pleasantly warm, agreeable and beneficial to men, the other healthful, invigorating and icy-cold.*
>
> *Then on Meru's summit devas of various kinds took off their robes that were scented with all sorts of perfumes, and, standing in long ranks on all sides,* (25) *vigorously waved them. Six times did they make the firm earth quake.*
>
> *Devas in their mansions,*[2] *resplendent in gold and silver and gems, to the sound of musical instruments looked on the Conqueror's auspicious birth. They lit up the sky with its moon, sun and stars.*

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[1] Apparently a set of verses from yet another account of the Buddha's birth. They are also introduced into the account of the Buddha Dīpaṃkara's birth. See Vol. 1, p. 176.

[2] *Vimāna.* See Vol. 1, p. 26, *n.* 1.

"This is the Great Seer who, having crossed the great ocean of life through the worlds of devas, Nāgas and Yakṣas, will attain to that one region wherein is peace." Thus did the enraptured devas proclaim of him.

Immediately after the Bodhisattva was born five-hundred Śākyan young men with Sundarananda[1] at their head, five-hundred maidens with Yaśodharā[2] at their head, five-hundred men-servants with Chandaka[3] at their head, five-hundred horses with Kaṇṭhaka[4] at their head, five-hundred elephants with the young elephant Candana[5] at their head, and five-hundred stores of treasure appeared. Five-hundred kings sent messengers to greet him.

Then King Śuddhodana gave orders, saying, "Now take the queen hence". In what will the Bodhisattva be conveyed? In a jewelled palanquin made by the deva Viśvakarma.[6] Who will bear this palanquin? The Four Great Lords are standing by, and they say, "We will carry (26) the elect of beings". The Bodhisattva climbs into the palanquin along with Māyā, his mother. Śakra, the lord of devas, and Great Brahmā form an escort.

King Śuddhodana gave orders to his ministers, saying, "Now lead the child, who is the strength of the Śākyans, to the temple to worship at the feet of the goddess Abhayā".[7] In obedience to the king's command his ministers do so, saying, "We shall make him bow his head at the feet of the goddess Abhayā". But when they came into the presence of the goddess it was his feet (and not his head) that the young child put forward,[8] while the goddess Abhayā bowed her own head instead at the child's feet.

Against his will the Hero, the great Saviour of the world, the Teacher of kings entered the shrine. But when they would

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[1] Or Nanda, simply, son of Śuddhodana and Mahāprajāpatī, and, therefore, half-brother of Gotama.
[2] Who became Gotama's wife.
[3] Gotama's squire. See Vol. 1, pp. 122 ff.
[4] His horse. See Vol. 1, *ibid.*
[5] His elephant, which is not named in the Pali texts.
[6] The Vedic creator or architect of the universe here becomes a deva famed for his handiwork.
[7] See Vol. 1, p. 177, *n.* 2.
[8] Literally, "his feet appeared," *pādā prādurbhūtā.*

have him salute the goddess with his head, it was his feet that he put forward.

Then the goddess Abhayā said, " It is not fitting that he should worship me. If he should make obeisance to anyone, that one's head would assuredly be split in seven."

When the child was born all beings, including even those in Avīci,[1] became prosperous and happy. The devas and the goddess Abhayā joyfully made obeisance to him.

Concluding stanzas:[2]

When the Chief of all the world was born, all the king's affairs prospered. Hence he who was the boon of men[3] was named Sarvārthasiddha.[4]

(27) *When the child had entered the royal palace, the king bade his priest to fetch at once the wise men who were skilled in the rules and significance of signs.*

Learning this the saintly devas, called Maheśvaras,[5] (came on the scene) lest the unskilled crowd of the twice-born[6] should seek to interpret the signs.

Rid of conceit and pride and arrogance eight-thousand Maheśvaras, with their joined hands raised, approached him who was newly-born and revered of devas and men.

Arrayed in pure garments and robes they stood quietly at the door of the king's palace, and addressed the door-keeper in a tone gentle as the cuckoo's, saying,

" Go in to Śuddhodana and say to him, ' Here are eight-thousand men who know the rules and significance of signs, and they would enter, if it is your pleasure '."

" So be it," said the door-keeper in obedience to them, and he went into the palace. Raising his joined hands, he joyfully addressed the lord of earth, saying,

" O king, peerless in excellence, whose glory is ablaze, smiter of your foes, may you rule your realm a long time

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[1] See Vol. I, pp. 13, 20 f., and *passim*.

[2] *Utthāpanīyā gāthā*. Senart cites *B.R. s.v. utthāpanī ṛic*, " beschliessender Vers."

[3] Reading *naralañcaka* for °*lambaka*. See Vol. I, p. 90, *n*. 3. The use of this epithet in the present context would seem to support the explanation suggested in the note referred to.

[4] *I.e.* " successful in all things."

[5] See Vol. I, p. 178, *n*. 2.

[6] *I.e.*, the brāhmans, among whom the experts would normally be sought.

yet. Men like the immortals stand at your gates and crave admittance.

" Because of their full clear eyes, their soft voices, their tread like that of elephant in rut, doubt arises in me whether these be men and not sons of the immortals.

" As they walk about the dust of the earth does not soil their noble feet. No footprints of theirs are seen on the ground—this, too, is a marvel.

" Stately and quiet are their gestures, noble their bearing, and controlled the range of their vision.[1] *They give great delight to all who behold them.*

(28) *" And here is another marvellous thing. No shadows are seen cast by their bodies, and no accompanying noise is heard as they move along.*

" O king, without a doubt they are come to view your noble son. You should joyfully see and greet these devas, who were not born of the womb.

" They carry fair and fragrant garlands in their hands. Their gestures are graceful, and their persons are charming and lit up with glory. Without a doubt these are exalted devas."

When Śuddhodana heard these words his body thrilled with joy, and he replied, " To be sure, let them with all speed enter within this noble palace.

" And why? Because such are not the forms of ordinary men. Humans do not have such majesty as you say these persons have."

Then the door-keeper returned to the Maheśvaras, and, bowing with joined hands uplifted, joyfully and cheerfully did them obeisance, and said,

" His majesty is pleased, sirs, that you should at his behest enter the valiant king's palace that is fit to be a stronghold of the devas."

When they heard this the eight-thousand Maheśvaras entered the royal palace of the head of his unconquered race.

And Śuddhodana, a stately and well-built figure, seeing the Maheśvaras when they were still some way off, rose up with his court to meet them.

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[1] *Praśāntadṛiṣṭipathā* for °*yathā* of the text. See Vol. I, p. 119, *n.* 3.

The valiant king addressed them, saying, " I bid you[1] *all a hearty welcome. For we are pleased with your appearance, your calm, your self-control, and your strength.*

(29) *" Here are our most honourable seats. Pray be seated at once, sirs, to give pleasure to us."*

Then they who were rid of conceit, pride and arrogance, and were blameless in deed, sat down on these seats the feet of which were bright and glittering with many a gem.

After waiting a while one of them addressed the king, saying, " Let your majesty hear what the cause of our coming hither is.

" A son is born to you, O king, who is wholly faultless in body and who is judged fair by all the world and possesses to perfection the marks of excellence.

" For we, skilled in the science of signs, can recognise the marks of virtue and of vice. If it is not hard for you, we would see him who bears the marks of a Great Man."

The king replied, " Come, see my son, whose good name is secure[2]*, who brings joy to devas and men, and who possesses the marks of excellence to perfection."*

Then taking in his arms the Virtuous One, swathed in delicate and soft gaily-coloured wool, he brought him whose eloquence is clear[3] *into the presence of the noble Suras.*[4]

When the Maheśvaras observed from a distance the dignified approach of the Daśabala,[5] *they were thrilled with joy and bowed their heads crowned with glittering diadems to the ground.*

Then they said to the king, " Great profit have you well

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[1] *Bhavi sarveśām.* The form *bhavi* is inexplicable, although Senart does not remark on it. The corresponding passage in Vol. 1, p. 225 (text), has *vas sarveśām*, which would seem to suggest that *bhavi* hides some form (? contracted) of *bhavantas*, " you." Two MSS. read *bhava*. As a verb *bhavi* could be construed as a 2nd aorist, 3rd sing., which might allow of some such rendering as " there has been a welcome to (you) all," or, giving it a potential or optative force " Let there be a welcome." But it seems better to put *bhavi* down to a scribal error, and to regard it as a truncated form inadvertently copied from the *bhavatām* directly below it in the next line.

[2] *Suvyapadeśakṣema.* See Vol. 1, p. 120, *n.* 2.

[3] *Vādicandra.* See Vol. 1, p. 180, *n.* 2.

[4] See Vol. 1, p. 56, *n.* 1; but here the word is a mere honorific title for these devas.

[5] See Vol. 1, p. 51, *n.* 2.

gained, O mighty king, in that there has been born in your family a Great Man who possesses the thirty-two marks. These are[1]—

He has feet with level tread.
He has designs of wheels on the soles of his feet.
He has long toes and fingers.
He has broad and projecting heels.
He has sharply arched feet.
(30) *His legs are like the antelope's.*
His body is divinely straight.
He can touch his knees with his hands when standing erect.
His male organ is encased in a sheath.
His body is proportioned like the banyan-tree.
His hands and feet are soft and tender.
His hands and feet are webbed.
His body is perfectly formed.
The down on his body grows in single hairs, one to each pore.
The down on his body grows straight upwards.
He has a smooth skin.
He has a [ ] skin.
He has the gait of a swan.
There is no hollow between his shoulder-blades.
His body has the seven convex surfaces.
He has an excellent sense of taste.
His skin is the colour of gold.
He has the bust of a lion.
He has regular teeth.
His eye-teeth are perfectly white.
His bust is equally rounded.
His tongue is long and slender.
His voice is like that of Brahmā.
His eyes are blue.
His eyelashes are like a cow's.
Between his eyebrows he has a hairy mole.
His head is shaped like a royal turban.

Such is the Saviour with the thirty-two marks of excellence.

[1] The mnemonic verses enumerating the "marks" are practically identical with those describing the "marks" of Dīpaṃkara in Vol. 1, pp. 226-7 (text) and pp. 180-2 (translation), where notes and references are given.

ASITA AND THE YOUNG GOTAMA

In the southern country there was a brāhman youth, the son of a wealthy brāhman of Ujjenī.[1] Asita[2] was dusky of complexion, clever, skilful and intelligent. He had learnt the Vedas, the mantras[3] and the śāstras[4] at his tutor's house.

Now when he had completed the study of the Vedas, he left home, went to the Vindhya mountains and lived the religious life of a seer, subsisting austerely[5] on roots, fruits and leaves. In the Vindhya mountains he established a hermitage, and by endeavour, application and exertion in the brāhmanic[6] way of life he accomplished the four meditations[7] and won clear conception of the five branches of the higher knowledge.[8] And, having mastered the four meditations and attained the five branches of the higher knowledge and being learned and proficient in the Vedas, Asita the seer became known and celebrated everywhere.

Asita the seer was renowned in heaven also. He travelled through the air, being possessed of great magic and power. He dwelt in his hermitage in the company of five hundred pupils and Nālaka.[9]

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[1] Ujjenī was the capital of Avanti, " one of the four continents in the time of the Buddha, being also mentioned among the sixteen great *janapadas*. It is identical with the Greek Ozenī, about 77°E and 23°N." (*D.P.N.*)

[2] In the Pali texts Asita, the "Buddhist Simeon," was the chaplain of Siṃhahanu, father of Śuddhodana, and also the latter's tutor. See *D.P.N.*, where reference is made to E. J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha* (pp. 38 ff.) on the growth of the Asita legend. But the *Mhvu.*, like *Lal. Vist.*, has confused with this residential chaplain a Himalayan recluse known as Asita Devala (see below, p. 35).

[3] The hymns and prayers of the Vedas.

[4] The standard religious treatises.

[5] *Rucchavṛittis. Ruccha* is for Sk. *rūkṣa.* The Pali form of the latter is *lūkha*, which, as well as the alternative form *lūha*, is found several times in the *Mhvu.* also. But the manuscript evidence has decided Senart to print *ruccha.*

[6] *Vāhitakena* (= *bāhitakena* or *bāhirakena*) [*margena*], " in the way outside of, or other than, the Buddhist way," hence "unorthodox" from the Buddhist point of view, with especial reference to the Brāhmanic religion and asceticism.

[7] *Dhyāna.* See Vol. 1, pp. 183 ff.

[8] *Abhijñā*, " super-knowledge." See Vol. 1, p. 201, *n.* 2.

[9] Nephew of Asita, by whom he was warned to prepare himself to profit by the Buddha's enlightenment.

At the birth of the Bodhisattva he saw the quaking of the earth and the great radiance. He heard the entrancing and divine sounds of song and music. He saw the celestial showers of blossoms raining down, and thousands of *koṭis* of devas and thousands of Apsarases carrying celestial garlands and perfumes as they hovered behind and in front on the aerial paths. He saw hundreds of other wonders besides and was thrilled at the sight. He asked himself, "What is toward in Jambudvīpa to-day? By whose power is the earth shaken to-day (**31**) and these hundreds of wonders manifested?" And the seer by means of his deva-eye[1] surveyed the whole of Jambudvīpa to see whose majesty and power it was that caused the entrancing sounds of song and music to be poured forth, celestial musical instruments to be heard, devas and deva-maidens to be seen, celestial flowers to rain down, thousands of moons and suns to be seen, no fire to blaze in the thousand hells, and all beings to become possessed of extreme bliss. This is what he saw with his deva-eye. In the eastern city of Kapilavastu a son had been born to King Śuddhodana, who was virtuous, powerful and mighty, and it was through his power and majesty that these hundreds of wonders were manifested. And Asita said, "I shall go and see the boy at the fit place and time."

When he was sure that it was the proper time and occasion for seeing the boy, he, attended by his numerous pupils, travelled through the air by means of his magic power and reached the city of Kapilavastu. There he stood at the door of King Śuddhodana's palace. The ministers and door-keeper on seeing him rose up to meet him, and asked, "Lord, what is your wish? What is the object, what is the purpose of your coming?" The seer replied, "Here at the door of Śuddhodana is Asita the seer, eager to behold his son."

The door-keeper reported this to the king, saying, "Asita the seer wishes to see your son." When King Śuddhodana heard of the coming of the seer Asita, who was renowned, learned and distinguished, he said to the door-keeper, "Let the seer come in." The door-keeper ran and reported this to the seer, saying, "Let his reverence enter."

The seer came in. The king, with his court, on seeing him

[1] See Vol. 1, p. 125.

rose up and said, " We greet you, sir. Pray be seated." The seer hailed the king and sat down. Then the king asked, " Lord, what is the reason for your coming ? " The seer replied, " I wish to see your son."

At that time the boy had achieved a tranquil concentration, and they thought he was asleep. So the king said to the seer, " Lord, wait a little. Just now the boy is asleep." The seer replied " Your majesty, the boy is not asleep." The king went close up in front of the boy (32) and saw that he was awake. He marvelled at the seer, and concluded that he must be a seer of great power.

The king then gave instructions that the boy be brought in to the seer. And the boy, borne on a soft rug of antelope skin, was brought in. The seer, perceiving even from a distance the marks of a Great Man on the boy's body, lifted his joined hands to his head and rose up. He greeted the boy reverently and inspected his thirty-two marks of a Great Man.

Afterwards in the palace the seer heard the report that the boy was to become a universal king, for the diviners had so foretold. But the seer thought to himself, " This boy will not become a universal king. He will become a Buddha in the world." For the seer saw that those marks were such as belonged not to a universal king but to a Buddha. " He will become a Buddha in the world," said he, " But I ere long shall reach my allotted span, and I shall not behold this jewel. I shall not hear his preaching of the dharma. I shall not see his excellent company of disciples." And the seer cried and wept.

The king, with his court, on seeing Asita the seer weeping, became distressed, and asked him, " Why, Lord, do you weep on seeing the boy ? I hope that you do not see any misfortune awaiting him. When he was born the earth quaked six times, and a radiance appeared in the world. He was adored by thousands of devas. There were showers of celestial blossoms, and the sounds of thousands of celestial instruments being played poured forth. When the boy was born there were also born in Kapilavastu five hundred other boys, five hundred girls, five hundred bondsmen and bondswomen, five hundred elephants, and five hundred horses. Five hundred stores of treasures were revealed, and five hundred kings sent messengers with greetings. And there were other marvels and wonders

besides. And yet you, sir, weep on seeing the boy. Assure me, therefore, that you do not see any misfortune awaiting him."

The seer replied, "Your majesty, (33) it is not that I see any misfortune for the boy. At some time or other, in some place or other such Great Men do appear in the world. For your son stands revealed as a Great Man. He will become a Buddha in the world. But I am old and I'll not live to see it. He will preach the dharma which confers calm, which is noble and which leads to Nirvana. But I shall not hear him. I shall not see his goodly band of disciples, nor the wonders which he will work as a Buddha. And so, your majesty, it is because I see this great misfortune of my own that I weep."

And the seer, having explained one by one, the four meanings of the marks,[1] proclaimed, "He will become a Buddha in the world," and then went his way.

Put aside all hindrances, and calmly listen to me as I relate how Asita the seer wept at the birth of the Śākyan child.[2]

There was a great seer, Asita by name, who dwelt in the region of the Vindhyas. His wealth of merit was assured. He was high-minded, and sprung from great Kapila's head.[3]

He was proficient in the āraṇyas[4] *and śāstras, and master of the five branches of the higher knowledge. He dwelt on Kailāsa's summit, like a lord of wealth, albeit a lord of a cave.*

He abode at the head of a forest glade, living austerely[5] *on roots and wild fruits, along with his pupil Nālaka and many others.*

He ensued the path of the ten moralities,[6] *happy in his calm and self-control, and exhorted others. He was a seer who had*

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[1] See below, p. 40.

[2] A metrical version of the Asita legend.

[3] *Mahākapila-uttamāñgaruha.* Literally, "sprung from the hair (*uttamāñga*, cf. Pali) of great Kapila." The legend here seems to be peculiar to the *Mhvu.* Senart compares the birth of Kṛiṣṇa and Balarāma from two hairs of Hari's head. It is worth noting also that Asita's home is put in the Vindhyas, and not the Himalayas, the usual home of ascetics and seers, including Kapila himself (see Vol. 1, pp. 296 ff.) Immediately below, however, Asita himself is said to dwell on Kailāsa (Kailāśa), a range of the Himalayas.

[4] Evidently for the usual *āraṇyakas*, "forest" treatises.

[5] *Rucchaṃ vṛittim.* See p. 27, *n.* 5.

[6] See Vol. 1, p. 3, *n.* 4.

attained the perfection of all good qualities,[1] *and was endowed with the perfection of morality.*

On a time there was shed a rich radiance, and the uttermost ends of the world were gladdened and amazed. All beings became extremely blessed, and the earth shook.

And the seer as he sat there saw flowers of the coral-tree and celestial blooms[2] *from heaven fall on the surface of the earth.* (34) *Asita saw the sky bespangled with hundreds of jewels, and thousands of deva maidens running along the paths of heaven.*

In the grottoes of the mountains he heard the sweet musical strains of the Kinnarīs,[3] *which checked the mountain streams as they ran between the banks, their waters laden with flowers.*

He beheld a rich radiance all around in the ten quarters, like the splendour of the newly-risen sun in all its might.

When he had seen these and many other marvels, Asita in his astonishment became thoughtful.

" Why now," thought he, " does the great earth quake, and why do drums roar in the paths of heaven? Why is the world bathed in radiance, and why do flowers rain down?

" The moon and sun shine not[4] *and the dark-blue water of the ocean trembles; the flower-strewn waves look like an expanse*[5] *of lotuses.*

" And all these fair trees are laden with blooms out of season, and give forth at the same time the sweet fragrance of flowers and fruits.

" To-day no fire blazes in the thousand hells, nor do the dismal regions between the worlds know aught of affliction.

" Nor do hunger and thirst arise in the body as before. My heart is glad. What, I wonder, is toward to-day?

" Why now is this exceeding loud laugh raised in the

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[1] Reading *sarvaguṇa* for *devaguṇa*. So Senart.

[2] The text has *kalpapuśpāṇi*, but this word appears in Senart's index at the end of vol. 3 with a question mark. Possibly the meaning is simply " flowers that last a *kalpa*," hence " celestial." Cf. *kalpavṛikṣa*, Pali *kalparukkha*, the name of a tree in Indra's heaven. (See vol. 1, p. 118).

[3] Female *Kinnaras*. See Vol. 1, p. 54. Mount Kailāśa is again mentioned as the home of the Kinnaras on p. 97 (text).

[4] *Na vibhānti*, Senart's conjecture for impossible MS. readings like *nava yatim*, *navampatim* and *nagapatim*.

[5] *Uttarīyapaṭalā*, " upper cover," or, perhaps, *padmottarīyapaṭalā* means a " surface bluer than (literally ' beyond ') the lotus."

eastern quarter? Why do deva maidens hurry with sandalwood powder in their hands?

(35) "*What mighty man has to-day been born in Jambudvīpa? Through the glory of what glorious man is such great might revealed?*

"*Of whatsoever else in the world such things are a sign, 'tis certain that such portents occur at the birth of Buddhas.*"

He hears hosts of immortals from the skies alighting on the earth, and saying, "The Saviour of the world is born. He will become a Buddha who is his own guide."[1]

Enraptured, then, at hearing the hosts of devas in the air proclaiming, "To-day, the Buddha, a scion of heroes, has been born in the world,"

The seer, with his deva eye, surveyed the whole of Jambudvīpa, and saw that a son was born to Śuddhodana in the clan of the Śākyans.

And when he had seen all this, the rumour of enlightenment arose in the regions,[2] *and the sound of the Buddha's name went abroad.* (*And he said*) "*I shall see him in due time.*"

They,[3] *carrying hatchets*[4] *in their hands, wearing black robes of antelope skin and cloaks of black fibre, came bearing fruits and water.*

The seer travelled through the unsupporting air in the path of the wind. By calling forth his magic power he arrived at Kapilavastu in an instant.

At the foot of the Himalayas he descried a delightful city bathed in sunlight, and impregnable to foes. Verily it was as delightful as a city of the Three-and-Thirty devas. And the seer entered this city in order to see the Śākyan.

He entered the city which was radiant[5] *and whose markets*

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[1] *Aneya*, usually, e.g., Vol. 1, p. 208 (text), *ananyaneya* "not led by others."

[2] *Diśasu* is Senart's emendation for *pañcasu* "the five (regions)," on the ground that the latter enumeration is unusual. Note also that *kaulīna* "rumour" is here masc., instead of neut. as the word is elsewhere in this sense. Further, Senart takes the words *tatraiṣa buddhaśabda carati* as spoken by Asita, but it seems better to take them as a continuation (*tatra* = "and then") of the preceding statement. The text of the whole verse is suspect.

[3] *I.e.* Asita and his disciples.

[3] *Kuṭhāri*, Pali *kuṭhārī*, Sk. *kuṭhāra*. The purpose of their carrying hatchets is not clear.

[5] *Sannibhantam*, for °*bhāntam* (possibly this form should be read here) pres. part. of *san-ni-bhā*.

were busy in selling and buying. It was thronged (36) *by joyful people, happy warriors on horseback, on elephants, in chariots and on foot.*

With cheerful[1] *heart he approached and entered its bright gates—the abode of Śuddhodana, an abode like that of the king of the devas.*

He saw the upper chamber[2] *of the palace, with the fair windows of its gables and attics open,*[3] *gleaming like a brilliant mountain-top in the sky.*

On the front of the mansion were pinnacles resplendent with silver, and its corners gleamed like the flame of the sacrificial fire.

The inner apartments were fair like pellucid shells. They sparkled like brilliant little suns or like moon-shaped ornaments.[4]

There were seen rays[5] *like lightning flashes thrown out*[6] *by the well-wrought panels*[7] *of beryl and by the rows of house-bolts.*[8]

There were seen arched portals of gold like burning fire,

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[1] Lacuna in the text, which is obviously to be filled in by an adjective of such meaning to go with *manasā*.

[2] *Harmiya*, Vedic *harmya*, BSk. *harmika* (*Divy*. 244), Pali *hammiya*, "customarily given as a long storied mansion, which has an upper chamber placed on top." (*P.E.D.*). Here it is compounded with *prāsāda*, "terrace."

[3] *Gavākṣavaraśaraṇapañjaravibuddha*. This is a difficult compound. *gavākṣa* (Pali *gavakkha*, *Mhvs*. ix. 15, 17), literally "ox-eye" denotes "a window" especially a dormer or attic window in a gable. *Vara* is, of course, a mere conventional epithet, "fair." *Śaraṇa*, "refuge," has also the meaning of "private apartment" or "closet" (see *M.W.*). and as the allusion here is to the upper story of the palace (Asita, besides, was coming in from the air) it may be rendered "attic." But *pañjara* "cage" can only be rendered "window" on the analogy of its use in Pali in the compound *sīhapañjara* ("lion-cage") to denote "window," and apparently a dormer or attic window especially. (See *Mhvs*. xxvi, 16; *J*.3. 379; *DhA*. 1.191). *Vibuddha* "blossomed" is taken in the sense of "opened out."

[4] Literally "like made moons," *kṛitā va candrāṇi*, or, following a suggestion by Miss I. B. Horner, "like shaped moons," which may equally be understood as alluding to ornaments in the shape of moons, whether crescent or full. Senart doubts the reading, however, and as an alternative for *kṛitā*, one may tentatively suggest *kāntā*, "like lovely moons." Although the compound *vimalaraviprakāśa* might seem to refer to the actual sun, it is better to make the allusion to be to sun-shaped ornaments "little suns." For oriental ornaments of these shapes, see *Isaiah* 3.18, where the word translated "cauls" is possibly to be taken instead as the equivalent of the Arabic *shabīsā* "little suns."

[5] Literally "colours," *varṇāni*.

[6] Literally "spread," *uptā*, from *vap* "to strew."

[7] *Phalakehi*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 154, *n*. 4.

[8] *Gṛihasūcīkāvalīhi*. Or, perhaps, as Miss I. B. Horner suggests, *sūcīkā* here denotes the pins to secure the bolts.

like the clear sun, that flashed like moon-shaped ornaments.

Everywhere rutting elephants, like monsoon clouds,[1] *like clouds that yield rain, come forth adorned with star-like ornaments.*[2]

Everywhere kittens fall down suddenly, for they are frightened by the peacocks that strut about.

Everywhere cuckoos in aviaries sweetly call; everywhere parrots and sārikas[3] *flutter about like ropes of pearls.*

(37) *It was a fair citadel built square to all points of the compass, and well laid out,*[4] *impregnable to foes, and thronged by wearers of the sacred cord.*

On the ground with its heaps of jewels and piles of other splendours a lion sits and starts with fear at the rising sun which it has seen.[5]

This palace, then, which knew no vehicles drawn by animals, but was well supplied with slaves and courtesans,[6] *and crowded with eunuchs in red-and-white garments, did Asita enter.*

The palace was crowded with servants and hundreds of carriages, full of nobles, and pervaded with a sweet fragrance, as the recluse reached the door unhindered.

Crowding the hall[7] *he saw women standing still or moving about, holding scimitars*[8] *in their hands, and exceeding fair to look upon as they gossiped.*

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[1] Miss I. B. Horner points out that in Indian mythology these life-giving clouds are thought of as elephants, which once had wings and roamed the skies.

[2] *Niśritārkasadṛiśā*, "like suns fixed," *i.e.* on the bodies of the elephants.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 226, *n.* 2.

[4] The text has *suāviddham* from *su-ā-vyadh*, but in his note Senart discusses the form *susaṃviddham*, "bien percé," *i.e.* with loopholes. But he doubts the correctness of the reading. It has, therefore, been thought better to emend into *suvibhaktam*, on the analogy of *vibhaktā* in Vol. 1, p. 9 (text), "divided," 'laid out." Cf. *vibhatta* in Pali (*A*. 1. 141, *M*. 3. 167).

[5] This stanza is very obscure. "Lion" is *sīha* (Pali for *siṃha*). The obscurity is worse if *Sīha* is taken as a proper name, for there is no one in the story to whom the name can be referred. *Viṣṭam* of the text, which could only be construed as "(the sun) which had entered" (*i.e.* past part. pass. for active) has been emended into *driṣṭam*, "which had been seen." The *Mhv*. almost invariably prefers the compound *pra-viś* to the simple *viś*.

[6] *Velāsikā*. The form *vailāsikā* is found in Vol. 1, p. 348 (text). See note p. 294 of translation.

[7] *Osaraṇe bharitā*. Senart explains the first word with reference to Pali *osaraṇaṭṭhāna* given by Childers as meaning "resort" (here "hall"). *Bharitā* is used figuratively, being applied to what fills instead of to that which is filled or "laden."

[8] Toys or ornaments in the shape of scimitars.

And Asita, wise, profound, and well-versed in the scriptures, thus spoke to the door-keeper : "Bear this message of mine to the king of the Śākyans.

"I am Kāla[1] *and I am of the clan of Bhāradvāja.*[2] *I am of noble birth and dwell in a region on the summit of the Vindhyas."*

"So be it, sir," replied the door-keeper obediently, and he went in to the king who listened to all his words and had him bring Asita in.

In obedience to the summons Asita entered the heavenly abode of Siṃhahanu[3], *like Indra going to Nandana*[4] *with its throngs of Apsarases.*

(38) *Asita hailed the king and presented fruits to him. The king accepted them and said, "Welcome, lord."*

There was a special couch with its eight legs of gold, with bright cushions,[5] *and studded with gems. On it Asita sat down as bidden.*

The seer, who was master of the five branches of the higher knowledge and had great magic power, sat down on the couch, and King Śuddhodana himself invited him to partake of food.

When the sumptuous meal was over, Asita said, "Pray, listen to me, O king." And the king replied, "Well be it with you, lord." Asita said, "I wish to see your son, if it is your pleasure."

"You are heartily welcome," said the king, "But just now the comely child is asleep. When he wakes up you shall see him like a body of pure gold."

And when the child was awake, he took him from his mother and presented him with his hair in eight braids, like the sun emerging through a rift in the clouds.

When the noble seer saw him lying like a jewel[6] *on the blanket of fine cloth, he hurriedly rose to his feet and received the child in his arms.*

[1] *Kāla,* "black," a synonym of *asita.* So Asita Devala is called Kāla Devala in the *Nidāna-Kathā.*
[2] Name of a Brāhman clan.
[3] See Vol. 1, p. 298.
[4] *I.e.* Nandanavana, a park in Trāyastriṃśa (Tāvatiṃsa).
[5] Or "mats," *kilañjaka.*
[6] Literally "like an earring," *kuṇḍala.*

And when he had taken him in his arms and seen that he bore the thirty-two marks of a Great Man as well as the lesser characteristics, he wept and sobbed.[1]

Seeing his eyes welling with tears King Śuddhodana asked him, " What, I pray you, is this sadness that has come over you on seeing the child ?

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him who, on the day he was born, took seven strides to the north.

(39) *" Why do you weep, brāhman, on seeing him, on the day of whose birth devas stood in the air carrying sunshades and fans ?*

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth the whole world was bathed in radiance.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth two springs of water welled up in the sky.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth devas held up a sunshade in the sky.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth devas scattered powder of the coral-tree.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth the inanimate earth quaked.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth the dark-blue water of the salt ocean trembled.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth drums roared in the sky.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred Śākyan lads were also born.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred Śākyan maidens were also born.

" I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred bondsmen were born for me.

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[1] The text has *ākhaṇḍalasamāno,* which can only mean "like Ākhaṇḍala," *i.e.* " the Destroyer," an epithet of Indra. Even if there were a well-known episode in which Indra wept, the simile would be very forced and unnatural. *Ākhaṇḍalasamāno* has, therefore, been emended into *aśrukaṇṭhasamāno,* literally, " being with tears in his throat," *i.e.* " sobbing."

(40) *"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred bondswomen were born for me.*

"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred steeds were born for me.

"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred elephants were born for me.

"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred stores of treasure stood revealed.

"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth five hundred neighbouring kings came to bow down before me.

"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, on the day of whose birth teachers of kings came to see him.

"I want to hear, brāhman, why you weep on seeing him, whom men behold with gladness, joy and exaltation.

"Cast grief aside, brāhman, be joyful and regain your composure. For this child will become a king possessing the seven treasures,[1] *a lord of the earth."*

When this had been said, Asita wiped away his tears and in reply spoke these words of good cheer :[2] [*" Not so "*],[3] *said he, " has it been foretold by the seers.*

"This lion-hearted man, who is like the joyful and fiery young sun, will not become a king, a lord of men. He will become an unsurpassed Master.

"For he with three strides has traversed the whole threefold world.[4] (41) *He will attain the highest dharma, which is blest, immortal and irresistible.*

"I am old, my vigour gone, and just now a boy has been born who will become a Supreme Man. But I shall be dead when the boy attains enlightenment.

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 85.

[2] This is Senart's interpretation of *sitasāhvayam idamavocat*. If the reading is corect, there is in the former word a play on the name Asita, " black." Asita, that is to say, though black his name, spoke words that could be called (*sāhvayam*) white (*sita*).

[3] Lacuna in the text.

[4] See Vol. I, p. 78, *n.* 2.

"He will become a Buddha, omniscient, with power over all things[1] *in his well-proclaimed dharma and Discipline. But I am old, and hence I weep.*

"And yet I have no fear of death. For how can a man be born and not die? I weep because I shall not see the peerless Buddha.

"Verily, I have no fear of death. For how can a man be born and not die? I weep because I shall not hear the peace-giving dharma.

"Verily, I have no fear of death. For how can a man be born and not die? I weep because I shall not see the Sangha[2] *with its ocean of virtues.*[3]

"I weep because he who, himself awakened, will awaken this race of men so long lulled to sleep by material joys, now stands revealed when I am old.

"I weep because he who, himself released, will release this race of men bound in the fetters of passion, now stands revealed when I am old.

"I weep because he who, himself released, will release this race of men bound in the fetters of folly, now stands revealed when I am old.

"I weep because he who, himself released, will release this race of men from passion, hatred and folly, now stands revealed when I am old.

"I weep because he who, himself healthy, will also render others healthy, now stands revealed when I am old.

(42) *"I weep because he who, himself griefless, will also render others griefless, now stands revealed when I am old.*

"I weep because he who, himself free from pain, will also render others free from pain, now stands revealed when I am old.

"These fortunate men and devas will see the King of dharma setting his wheel a-rolling in the city of Kāśi.[4] *But I am old and therefore I weep.*

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[1] *Sarvadharmavaśavartin.*
[2] See Vol. I, p. 31, *n.* I.
[3] *Guṇasāgaram.* Unless we read *gaṇasāgaram,* "an ocean of a multitude," *i.e.* the Sangha, a multitude vast as the ocean.
[4] *I.e.* Benares.

"These fortunate men and devas will see the ambrosia shared among the noble throng. But I am old and therefore I weep.

"Sickness, old age and death are great stumbling-blocks[1] *to men. Now a comforter has arisen. But I am comfortless and therefore I weep."*

When the seer had pitifully[2] *and tremulously*[3] *uttered these many lamentations,*[4] *he lauded the excellent, self-controlled Man whom he had just seen.*

"I have come eastwards," said he, "seeking the Supreme Man, for rare[5] *is the appearance of Buddhas who tame the untamed."*

Then he walked round the Bodhisattva several times keeping him on his right. To the king he said, "I am going. Let your majesty safeguard my well-being."[6]

[*When he had returned home he said to Nārada :*][7]

"When you hear news of the Buddha go to the presence of the Supreme Guide. Live the good life and let his words be your counsel.

"So be it," said Nārada when he heard these words. (**43**) *He embraced the religious life and became the foremost of his class, an Arhan*[8] *who had shaken off his lusts.*

Sing the praises of the kinsman of Kātyāyana,[9] *who is*

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[1] Literally "stumbling-block makers," *antarāyakarā*. The rendering of *antarāya* as "stumbling-block" is due to Lord Chalmers (*Furth. Dial.* 1. 90). It has been adopted also by Miss I. B. Horner in *Book of the Discipline* (3.21), where she has a valuable note on the word.

[2] *Karuṇāyanto*, which must be taken in a middle sense.

[3] *Vepitvā*, see preceding note.

[4] *Ālapitvā bahūni*.

[5] Cf. Vol. 1, pp. 42, 43, 92, 96, 190, 224; *Sn.* 559, 560, 998.

[6] The text here has *snigdhavatīm bhavāndetu*. The former word, as Senart remarks, gives neither sense nor a suitable measure. The translation above has been based on a tentative emendation into *snigdhavṛittim*, "an easy or comfortable way of life." Cf. the use of *snigdha* in the phrase *pṛicchati snigdham* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1. 68. 4), "to inquire after the health of."

[7] Not only does the following verse, in the MSS, come before the farewell address to the king, but it contains nothing to indicate that the words were spoken to Nārada—we are left to infer this from the next verse. Not only is there this textual anomaly, but also the strange intrusion of Nārada (for whom see below p. 50, *n.* 5; 52.) into the Asita story. For, as has been seen (p. 27) Asita's nephew whom he exhorted to accept the coming Buddha's teaching was named Nālaka. *Lal. Vist.* calls him Naradatta,

[8] See Vol. 1, p. 1, *n.* 4.

[9] So is Nālaka called Kātyāyana in the Tibetan version.

named Nārada, a son of the Conqueror, who dwelt in the wood, the elder who has passed completely away.[1]

Sing the praises of him who is released and rid of attachment to existence,[2] *who is utterly at peace and free, with every remnant of existence*[3] *destroyed—the elder who has passed completely away.*

The Bodhisattva was proclaimed by Asita to be destined to become a Buddha on each of four grounds. What four? The clearness, the regularity, the fundamentalness[4] and the unimpaired excellence of his characteristics.

Exalted Buddhas have eighty secondary characteristics.[5] They have their nails long, copper-coloured, and glossy. Their fingers are rounded, beautiful and regular. Their veins have no knots and are concealed. Their ankles are concealed and compactly formed. They have even and level feet. Exalted Buddhas have perfect sexual organs. Their radiance extends all around them. Their limbs are soft, flawless, superb, well-shaped, and well-knit, and all are well-proportioned. Their bodies are unimpaired and unmarred. Their limbs are free from freckles and curly hair.[6] Exalted Buddhas have hands soft as cotton. The lines on their hands are deep, unbroken[7] and uninterrupted. Their lips are red.[8] Their voices do not carry too far.[9] Their tongues are soft, slender and red. Exalted Buddhas have voices like the sound of an elephant's cry, well-toned and pleasant. Their gait is like the movement of an elephant, a bull, or a lion (**44**), always bearing to the right.

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[1] These verses are out of place here, and have evidently been interpolated from a poem celebrating the death of Nārada.

[2] *Nirupadhi, i.e.* without any *upadhi* or basis of rebirth or attachment to existence. Cf. *upādi*, Vol. 1, p. 199, *n.* 2.

[3] *Sarva-upadhi.* See preceding note.

[4] Literally "profundity,' *gambhīratā.*

[5] *Anuvyañjana.*

[6] °*tilaka-alaka.* Or, perhaps, we have here the scribal error of dittography and should read °*tilaka,* "freckles," only, as in the *Dharmasaṃgraha* sect. 84 (Subsequently cited as *Dhsg.*)

[7] *Abhagna.* It would seem better to read *abhugna,* "unbent," "not crooked," which would make this characteristic correspond with No. 15, *ajihmapāṇilekhā,* in *Lal.Vist.*, p. 106 (Lefmann's edition).

[8] Literally "like the *bimba,*" the fruit of the tree *Momordica monadelpha,* which, when ripe, is of a red colour.

[9] *Nābhyāyatana,* "not beyond their (due) compass," *abhi* having the force of *ati.* Cf. *nātyāyata*° next page, and *nātyāyatavacanatā* in *Dhsg.* (*l.c.*)

Their protuberances[1] are equal, and they are lovely in all parts. Their behaviour is clean. The hair of their bodies is perfectly clean and pure. Their radiance is all around them undimmed. Exalted Buddhas have straight, soft and regular limbs. Their bellies curve like a bow, are lovely, large[2] and regular.[3] Their navels are deep, regular,[4] unimpaired and turning to the right. Their knee-caps are curved.[5] Exalted Buddhas have round, sharp, regular,[6] unbroken and even teeth. Their noses are high but not too large. Their eyes are dark like the dark-white lotus.[7] Exalted Buddhas have dark, glossy eyebrows and large[8] equal ears without defect. Exalted Buddhas have their faculties unimpaired, unmarred and well-controlled. They have most excellently proportioned foreheads. Their hair is dark, thick, shiny, carefully combed,[9] growing without a break or interruption, soft, glossy and fragrant, with its tips curled.[10] They have well-shaped heads and their hair bears the figures of[11] the Svastika, Nandyāvarta and Muktika signs.[12]

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[1] *Utsada*, see Vol. I, p. 6, *n*. 1. *Dhsg.* has *utsāhagātratā* "having vigorous limbs," while *Mvyut.* (No. 30) has *utsadagātra* "with protuberances on their limbs."

[2] *Ukṣa*. This meaning is given in *M.W.* with a (?)

[3] Reading either *abhugna* "not crooked" as in *Dhsg.*, or *abhagna* "unbroken," as in the text.

[4] Text has *abhagna*, again. *Lal. Vist.* has *ajihma* and *Mvyut.*, *anupūrva*.

[5] *Pariṇata*, which, however, means rather "bent" or "crooked." *Pariṇāha(vat)* or *pariṇāhin*, "big," "wide," would seem a better reading, and would correspond with *pṛithu* in *Dhsg.* and *Lal. Vist.*

[6] Reading *abhugna* for *abhagna* which is synonymous with the following *acchinna*. *Lal.Vist.* and *Mvyut.* have *anupūrva*.

[7] Or, "like the dark and white lotus," the pupil being black and the ball white. See *Dhsg.*, *n*. p. 58 of "Anecdota Oxoniensia" edition.

[8] *Aparītta*. *Parītta* is BSk. corresponding to Pali *paritta* "small," "little," "inferior." According to the *P.E.D.*, "The BSk. form may be a re-translation of Pali *paritta*, which may correspond to Sk. *prarikta*, pp. of *pra-ric*, meaning "that which is exceeded," *i.e.* "left (over or behind)."

[9] *Vivṛitta*, "turned in different directions," "parted (?)," so interpreted by Senart on the analogy of *Lal. Vist.* *anākula* "not confused." The reading of *Lal. Vist.* quoted in the notes in *Dhsg.* p. 59, however, is *alulita* "not deranged," which corresponds to *asaṃlulita* of the *Dhsg.* itself.

[10] Reading *vellita*° (< *vell*), with two MSS, for *vallitāgrakeśa* of the text. Cf. Pali *vellitāgga*, applied to the hair.

[11] Literally "is like to," *sannikāsa*. *Lal.Vist.* has *saṃsthāna*, "consists of."

[12] The Svastika sign is, of course, well-known. The second is here spelt Nandyāvarta, instead of °āvata as in the text. Cf. the form in *Dhsg.* and *Lal.Vist.* The shape of it is discussed by Burnouf: *Lotus*, 626, and Colebrooke: *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii. 211. In *Dhsg.* it is the hands and feet that are marked with these three signs, but in *Lal.Vist.* the marks are said to be on the hair, only here the mark Muktika is replaced by the Śrīvata, and a fourth mark, the Vardhamāna, is added.

These are the eighty secondary marks on the body of the infinitely wise Buddha, and with these the body of the deva who is above all devas, the Supreme Man, is always adorned.

Since there are on his body the thirty-two praiseworthy marks and the eighty secondary characteristics, and since his radiance extends a full fathom, (45) *how, verily, can the wise not have faith in him as the Conqueror?*

If a man were to have the merits of all beings a hundred-fold he would not[1] *acquire*[2] *for his body a single one of these characteristics.*

GOTAMA'S YOUTH

King Śuddhodana, his women-folk and a young boy were out walking in the pleasure grounds. As the Bodhisattva strolled in the pleasure grounds he came to tilled lands where he saw some ploughs at work. These ploughs threw up a snake[3] and a frog. The young boy took the frog to eat, but threw away the snake. The Bodhisattva saw this, and became deeply stirred by the sight.

Pleasure, the body and life itself are burnt out together. Now I shall attain deathless release from existence. For I can not check my exertion, which is like the flow of the ocean's water on the sea-shore.

The Bodhisattva was sitting in the shade of a rose-apple tree in the forenoon, and the shade did not leave[4] him as the sun's rays moved round. He stayed there immersed in the first meditation,[5] which is accompanied by applied and sustained thought.

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[1] Reading, with one MS, *nāsya*, to be scanned *naasya* for *tenāsya* of the text. With the text reading the translation would have to be, "he would acquire only one."

[2] Literally "bring back on his body," *kāye nivartaye*.

[3] *Dīrghaka*, "the long one." Cf. Pali *dīgha* in same sense.

[4] This miracle of the unmoving shade is also found at *J*. 1. 88. Miss I. B. Horner, who calls the translator's attention to the subject, also remarks that in both texts the phenomenon is associated, more or less closely, with ploughing. In *J*. this ploughing is a ritual act. In both texts, further, the Bodhisattva is about to enter on the first meditation.

[5] *Dhyāna*. See Vol. 1, pp. 127, 183.

From the slopes of the Himalayas five seers came travelling through the air on their way to the Vindhyas. But they could not pass over the Bodhisattva.

> *We have passed over the lofty and broad*[1] *peak of Meru with its precious stones and diamonds* (46) *as easily as an elephant cuts its way through the dense forest-trees of Vṛindā*[2] *with their interlacing boughs.*
>
> *We can pass safely over the immortal strongholds, the abodes of devas and Gandharvas, supporting ourselves high in air. But near this wood we have to come to earth. Pray whose presence does this magic portend?*[3]

Devas recited verses in reply:

> *It is the son of the Śākyan king, the scion of a kingly race. Adorned with his many radiantly beautiful and excellent marks, he is resplendent like the newly risen sun.*
>
> *Here alone in the wood, absorbed in meditation, is the prince. This power of magic is the sign of him who is blessed with hundreds, yea,* koṭis *of good qualities.*
>
> *For he is the true light that has appeared in the blinding darkness. He will attain that dharma which will comfort the world of life.*
>
> *The Great Sage has appeared in a world that was scorched by the fire of lusts. He will attain that dharma which will gladden the world of life.*
>
> *Through the wild wastes of the ocean of sorrow a goodly course has been found. He will attain that dharma which will lead men across the world of life.*

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[1] The first line of this stanza is very corrupt and Senart has practically substituted for it a line of the parallel passage in *Lal.Vist.* (p. 128, Lefmann). For the word thus restored as *tiryagatyarthavistārikam,* which Foucaux (p. 117) translates "extrêmement . . . étendu", two of the *Mhvu.* MSS, have respectively *tenekaśotre sasthāvarā* and *tenaikaśrotasaṃsthāvarā.* These readings would seem to suggest that the original text described Mount Meru as the home of animal and plant life, *trasa sthāvarā* (Pali *tasathāvarā*), in addition to precious stones. It is also worthy of note that the same MSS. have for the word restored as *gaja,* "elephant," the word *jangama,* the very synonym which at *Mhvu.* I. 207 replaces *trasa* in the compound *trasasthāvarā.* But *teneka* and *tenaika* seem beyond the possibility of emendation.

[2] The forest of Vṛindā near Mathurā.

[3] Literally, "whose sign is this power of magic," *kasya lakṣmī nivarteti ṛiddherbalam.*

The three-fold world was lost in the wilderness of recurrent birth. He, with his vision, will point out the most excellent Way.

During the long night the sons of men were bound to the way of rebirth. But he, the king of dharma, will set their fetters loose.

(47) *When men are abused they yearn for a brave champion. In council they yearn for a wise man, and at meal-times they love to honour a dear friend.*[1]

When it was time to eat the king asked for the boy. "Where will the boy take his food?" asked he. When they heard the king, chamberlains, eunuchs, grooms and dwarfs ran out in all directions in search of the boy. A chamberlain saw the boy meditating in the shade of the rose-apple tree, and though the sun's rays moved on the tree's shadow did not leave the boy. Seeing this, the chamberlain was amazed, and thought that the boy was greatly blessed in that a lifeless thing like the shadow of a tree was not willing to leave him.[2]

The chamberlain reported this to King Śuddhodana, saying,

The orb of the darkness-dispelling sun goes round, O king, but the rose-apple tree's shade does not leave Siddhārtha, the possessor of the pure, noble and best marks, as he meditates in the shadow of it[3]*, immoveable as a mountain.*

When the king had heard the chamberlain he went to the boy and saw him in the shade of the rose-apple tree. In his amazement the king said :—

He is like the sacrificial fire on a mountain top, like the moon amid the starry host. The sight of him shining like a lamp as he lingers there immersed in meditation, stirs my whole frame with joy.

And he said, "Blessed surely is he to whom unconscious

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[1] This verse, a sort of adage as Senart says, is introductory to what follows, having no connexion with the preceding verses.

[2] Literally, "the unconscious shadow does not leave him," *acetanā, chāyā na jahāti*.

[3] Literally "with (in) obscured light," *dhyāma-ābham*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 36, *n*. 1.

things humbly submit." So King Śuddhodana bowed at the feet of the Bodhisattva sitting in the shade of the rose-apple tree.

(48) King Śuddhodana reflected, "Since the boy's heart delights in calm meditations, verily the prophecy of the seer Asita will turn out true." The king prepared a spacious harem for the boy so that he might find delight at home. For the young women he had varied ornaments of different kinds prepared, and he caused a proclamation to be made in the city of Kapilavastu bidding all young women to hurry to the royal park, where the young Siddhārtha would distribute jewels among them. In obedience to the king's command many thousand maidens hurried out to the park.

The daughter of the Śākyan Mahānāma, Yaśodharā by name, came in great splendour and bashfully caressed[1] the boy.

MANJARĪ JĀTAKA[2]

When the Exalted One had gone forth, had awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment and had set rolling the excellent wheel of dharma, it came to the ears of the monks that when as a boy he was distributing jewels to the young women, Yaśodharā had bashfully caressed him. A monk asked the Exalted One, "How, Lord, was it that Yaśodharā bashfully caressed thee when thou wast a boy?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, verily, that was not the first occasion for Yaśodharā bashfully to caress me. There was another occasion." The monks asked, "Was it so, Lord?" And the Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

[1] Or "hugged," *allīnā*, literally "adhered, clung to." (On form see p. 413 *n.* 1). Cf. the Pali formula *allīyati kelāyati manāyati mamāyati, e.g.* *M.* 1. 260, *allīyetha kelāyetha*, "hug and cherish" (Lord Chalmers), and *S.* 3. 190, where the translation renders the first two verbs by "delight in and be amused by."

[2] This Jātaka is so called in the colophon (p. 64, text), but none of the various meanings of *mañjarī* would seem to make it an appropriate title. Most likely the word should be emended into *matsarī*, "miser," (Pali *maccharin*). For the theme of the story is the vice of miserliness, and, apart from the *nidāna*, this Jātaka closely corresponds with the Pali *Sudhābhojana Jātaka*, No. 535 Fausböll (*J.* 5. 382 ff.), which has the same characters and practically identical *gāthās*.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśi there was a brāhman of the Kauśika[1] clan. He, seeing the peril of sensual delights, went forth to the Himalayas to embrace the life of a seer. There in the Himalayas, on the banks of the Ganges, he built himself a hermitage, and, by long devotion to the practice of vigilance after the brāhman way,[2] he achieved the four meditations and realised the five branches of the higher knowledge. (49) He could touch the moon and sun,[3] and was, in short, a seer of great power and might. But he had not the virtue of generosity.

Now a relative[4] of his died and was reborn among the Gandharva devas as a Gandharva named Pañcaśikha. In his life as a deva he remembered Kośika. "I wonder," said he, "in what region Kośika spends his life, or is he dead ?." He concentrated his mind on the matter, and then saw that Kośika had embraced the life of a seer and was dwelling in a hermitage in the Himalayas on the banks of the Ganges, but that he had not the virtue of generosity.

Pañcaśikha thereupon acquainted Śakra, lord of the devas, with this, saying, "He who, when I was a human being, was a kinsman dear to and beloved by me, has now embraced the life of a seer and dwells in the Himalayas on the banks of the Ganges. But he has not the virtue of generosity. For his sake let us go and urge him into the way of charity."

Then for the sake of the seer Kośika, Śakra together with Candrama and Sūrya,[5] Mātali, his charioteer[6], and the deva

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[1] The text throughout refers to him as "the Kauśikan," *i.e.* a member of the Kośika clan, but it simplifies translation to speak of him as "Kośika," that is, to call him by his clan name. In the Pali Jātaka the corresponding character is Kosiya or Maccharikosiya ("the miserly Kosiya"). Kośika (Kosiya) was the name of a brāhman clan, several members of which are named in the Pali texts (See *D.P.N.*). There was one actually living in Gotama's time who from his miserliness was dubbed Maccharikosiya, the exact name of the mythical character in the *Sudhābhojana Jātaka*.

[2] *Vāhitakena mārgena,* See p. 27, *n.* 6.

[3] This is one of the *ṛiddhis* (*iddhis*) at *S.* 5. 282, etc.

[4] *Jñātika,* Pali *ñātaka.* But in the Pali version Kosiya is Pañcaśikha's son and successor. In that version, too, all the other characters are mutually related. Kosiya was the fifth in descent from the wealthy householder who was reborn as Sakka, and whose successive descendants were reborn as Canda, Suriya, Mātali and Pañcaśikha.

[5] Devas of the sun and moon respectively, in Pali Canda and Suriya. See preceding note.

[6] *Sangrāhaka,* Pali *sangāhaka.*

Pañcaśikha disguised themselves as brāhmans. At meal-time they entered the hermitage of Kośika one after another. [And Pañcaśikha, transformed into] a dog went through various metamorphoses.[1]

Kośika said[2] :—

I neither buy nor yet do I sell. I have no store of food at all. The food I have is scanty ; 'tis but a small measure of grain and not enough[3] for two.

The dog replied :—

Out of little one should give a little, out of what is moderate a moderate amount. (50) *Out of much one should give much. There is never an occasion for giving nothing at all.*

I tell you,[4] Kośika, to eat only after sharing. Thus will you enter on the noble path. He finds no happiness who lives for himself.

Candra then arrived, and Kośika said :—

I neither buy nor yet do I sell. I have no store of food at all. The food I have is scanty ; 'tis but a small measure of grain and not enough for three.

Candra said :—

He who, when a guest is seated with him, eats his food without sharing it, is like a fish that swallows an iron hook.

I tell you, Kośika, to eat only after sharing. Thus will you enter on the noble path. He finds no happiness who lives for himself.

Sūrya then arrived, and Kośika said :—

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[1] Literally, "exhibited various high and low appearances," *nānāprakārāṇi uccāvacāni varṇāni upadarśeti*. As no allusion has so far been made to Pañcaśikha's transformation, Senart assumes a lacuna in the text. But comparison with *J.* makes it obvious that this is misplaced rather than incomplete, and should come on p. 52 (text), where Kośika is described as being driven by the various transformations of Pañcaśikha to ask his visitors who they really were.

[2] The baldness of this version as compared with the minute and picturesque detail of the Pali is to be noted.

[3] Reading *nālam* (*na-alam*), which is found in one MS, and also in *J.*, for *nalam* of the text.

[4] The text of this stanza begins *natvāham*, which, if correct, puts the negative required by the sense in a strange place. The *na* is required rather with *vindate* of the next line. Following the analogy of the Pali *taṃ taṃ vadāmi*, the text has, therefore, been emended into *tamtvaham* (*tam-tu-aham*, "this I tell you") with the negative before *ekāṃśam*. As the word preceding the latter ends in *-nno*, the careless omission of *na* is easily explicable as a piece of haplography.

I neither buy nor yet do I sell. I have no store of food at all. The food I have is scanty ; 'tis but a small measure of grain, and not enough for four.

Sūrya said :—

Vain is the sacrifice and vain the desire[1] *of him* (51) *who, when a guest is seated with him eats his food without sharing it.*

I tell you, Kośika, to eat only after sharing. Thus will you enter on the noble path. He finds no happiness who lives for himself.

Mātali, too, arrived, and Kośika said :—

I neither buy nor yet do I sell. I have no store of food at all. The food I have is scanty ; ' tis but a small measure of grain and not enough for five.

Mātali said :—

Real is the sacrifice and realised is the desire of him who, when a guest is seated with him, only eats his food after sharing it.

I tell you, Kośika, to eat only after sharing. Thus will you enter on the noble path. He finds no happiness who lives for himself.

Śakra too arrived, and Kośika said :—

I neither buy nor yet do I sell. I have no store of food at all. The food I have is scanty ; 'tis but a small measure of grain, and not enough for six.

Śakra said :—

As one who sacrifices to the Sarasvatī and to deep Gayā[2]

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[1] Reading *samīhita*, as in *J.*, for *samāhita* of the text.

[2] The text here is very unsatisfactory. As printed it reads, *Sarasvatīṃ so juhoti cāhutāṃ gamaye api.* This, as Senart hesitatingly suggests, could only mean something like, " he pours the Sarasvatī in libations and makes it, after being thus poured, flow again ". The corresponding Pali is :

Sarasañ ca yo juhati bahukāya Gayāya ca
Doṇe Timbarutitthasmiṃ sīghasote mahāvahe
Atra c'assa hutaṃ hoti atra c'assa samīhitam.

That is, as the Commentary suggests, sacrifice to a stream or pool brings its reward only for the man who charitably shares his board. On the analogy of the Pali, *cāhutāṃ gamaye* has been emended into *ca bahukāṃ Gayāṃ*. But even with this emendation the *Mhvu.* falls short of the full meaning of *J.*, for it does not express the idea that the effectiveness of the sacrifice in question is dependent on charitableness (cf. the sentiment of Mātali's *gāthā*), but merely the idea that charity is as effective as such sacrifice. (For Gayā as the name of a pond as well as a town, see *D.P.N.*).

is he (52) *who, when a guest is seated with him, only eats his food after sharing it.*

I tell you, Kośika, to eat only after sharing. Thus will you enter on the noble path. He finds no happiness who lives for himself.

Kośika said :—

You are august brahmans, but why does this dog of yours display his various transformations? Now tell me, sirs, who each of you may be.

Śakra replied :—

Candra and Sūrya, they are here, and this one is Mātali, the charioteer of the devas. I am Śakra, the lord of the Three-and-Thirty devas. And this one here is Pañcaśikha.

The tabour,[1] *the drum and sounds of tambourine wake up from sleep him*[2] *whose food and drink Pañcaśikha receives, and when he awakes he rejoices.*[3]

In our former lives,[4] *you were our kinsman, but now you*

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[1] *Pāṇisvara*—a musical instrument played with the hand.

[2] Reading *suptaṃ tam* for *suptam na*. Cf. *J.*, *suttaṃ etam.*

[3] *I.e.* in the music. The allusion here is to the musical abilities of Pañcaśikha, the Gandharva. (See *D.P.N.* for references.) He pays, that is to say, for any hospitality given him with music. For once, the *Mhvu.* is fuller and clearer than *J.* The latter reads :—

> *Pāṇissarā mutiṅgā ca murajālambarāni ca*
> *suttaṃ etaṃ pabodhenti, paṭibuddho ca nandati.*

Here the tabours, etc., awake Pañcaśikha, which is the exact opposite of what the *Mhvu.* says. *J.* introduces the verse as being Sakka's eulogy of Pañcaśikha, but there does not seem to be much merit in being awakened by music ; one need not even be a musician. It would seem, therefore, that the text of *J.* is here defective.

[4] Senart assumes a lacuna before these words, and remarks on the coincidence that both here and previously (p. 49, text) a lacuna occurs precisely where reference would be expected to be made to Pañcaśikha's transformation into a dog. But as has already been suggested, the latter lacuna is obviated by a transposition of the text, although we would still be left without an explicit statement regarding this transformation. As for the second of Senart's lacunas, a comparison with *J.* would seem to suggest that, if it really exists, it does not represent the omission of a reference to Pañcaśikha's being changed into a dog. Really, however, we have to do not with lacunas, but with the disconcerting brevity of the prose connecting the *gāthās*, which are left to tell the story themselves. In view of the abruptness with which the *gāthās* are introduced, the second lacuna need be no more than the omission of *Pañcaśikha āha*. But even this assumption is unnecessary, and the following verses may equally well be put in the mouth of Śakra, the speaker of the preceding verses. For, according to *J.*, Śakra was as much of a *jñātin* (" kinsman ") of Kośika as Pañcaśikha was.

are a sinful miser. We are come hither out of compassion for you, to prevent you from passing in sin to hell.

They who are misers, given to wrath and sin, (53) *who scorn the brāhman and the recluse, after their lives of evil deeds pass at death to hell.*

But those who in this world wisely and cheerfully make gifts to brāhmans and recluses, after their lives of virtue here pass at death to a state of bliss.

Kośika replied :—

Now this very day I shall begin to live a life of virtue and make gifts to brāhmans and recluses. I shall give[1] *them meat and drink. I would not even drink ambrosia without first sharing it.*

As I thus give at all times, all my wealth will soon be spent.[2] *Hence I shall pass to a state of bliss,*[3] *having cast away these inordinate desires of mine.*

On the lordly height of fair Mount Gandhamādana[4] *the daughters of the lord of devas lived in care-free joy.*[5]

Thither came a noble seer universally honoured,[6] *carrying in his hands a flowering bough of the goodliest of trees.*[7]

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[1] *Dadyād*, 3rd pers. for 1st. Though it would be equally easy to read *dadyām* here, Senart supports the text reading by citing a similar inflexion in Vol. 1, p. 51 (text), *adrakṣit*, which may be explained, he says, by Prakrit morphology.

[2] *Kśipihanti*, Prakrit fut. act. for passive.

[3] *Sugatim*. This word is entirely Senart's conjecture. It does seem rather out of place with the verb *pravrajati*, which in our text is invariably used in the sense of "to go forth as a recluse," *etc.*, although the simple verb *vrajati* is used above in its ordinary sense, "to go," with *sugatim*. In *J.* the corresponding verse has *tato aham pabbajissāmi Sakka*, and possibly, therefore, the right restoration of our text would be the insertion of *Śakra* after the reading *tato aham pravrajiṣyāmi* of two MSS., "hence, Śakra, I'll go and be a religious." Cf. note 5.

[4] One of the five mountain ranges that encircle Anotatta. See *D.P.N.*

[5] Another instance of the abrupt introduction of *gāthās* without any introductory prose. In *J.*, however, we are told of how Kośika retired to the Himalayas where he lived to old age. In the meantime Sakka's four daughters, Hope, Faith, Glory and Honour came to Mount Manosilā in Tāvatiṃsa, where Nārada, a brāhman seer, had gone to rest for the day. The nymphs asked him for a branch of the flowering coral-tree which he held in his hand.

[6] Reading *upāgato ṛiṣivaro sarvapūjito* for *upāgatā ṛiṣivara sarvipūjitum* of the text. Cf. *J.*, *athāgamā isivaro sabbalokagū*.

[7] *I.e.* the coral-tree of Indra's heaven, *pāricchatta(ka)* in Pali. It is called *pāripātra* at *Mhvu.* 1. p. 32 (text). See Vol. 1, p. 27, *n.* 1.

(54) *"Give us this bough, worthy friend," said they, "and you will be to us*[1] *as Śakra himself is."*[2]

The brāhman looked on her[3] *as she begged, and then made a reply that stirred up a dispute. "I have no need of these flowers," said he, "let her who is best of you tie*[4] *them on."*

"You, brāhman," said they, "are the one to consider this matter. You, sir, decide which of us is best. To whomsoever of us you give the branch, she will be accounted the best of us."

"Ye fair-limbed maidens, such talk is unseemly. What[5] *brāhman is there who would speak such an invidious word?"*[6] *Go to the lord of creatures*[7] *and question him, for he will know who of you is the best."*

Then they, aware of the highest good,[8] *proud and desirous of the palm of beauty, went and spoke to the lord of the Three-and-Thirty. "Sire," said they, "decide who of us is the best."*

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[1] Literally, "of us," *mo*. See Senart's note Vol. I, p. 601, where instances are given of the use of this form for nom. acc. and gen. pl. But we should, perhaps, here read *no*, as in *J*.

[2] Senart's text here is sharply at variance with that of *J*., and, to judge from the readings of the two MSS. which he gives in the *apparatus*, with the MS. tradition of the *Mhvu*. itself. His reading is *śākhāṃ dadensurnama astu māriṣa*, "Let them give the branch, we pray; let it be so, sir." But as *J*. makes it clear and as the context demands, *dadensu* (3 pl. aorist in optative sense) should be changed into an imperative or optative singular. The two MSS, referred to read respectively *tāṃ hi śākhāṃ dadet sarvaṃgamāsi mā°* and *tāṃ hi śākhāṃ dada sarvādgamāsi ma.°* *Sarvam* (*-ād*) *gamāsi* is obviously reminiscent of the *sabbagatī* in *J*., *dadāhi no sabbagatī ijjhantu*, and seems to be the basis of Senart's reading *°surnama astu*. Without a collation of all the MSS, however, it would be unwise to attempt the restoration of the line as a whole, and satisfactory sense may be obtained by merely reading *dadet* for *dadensu*. *I.e.* "Let our worthy friend give and be = You, worthy friend, give, and you will be."

[3] *I.e.* the spokeswoman of the four sisters. Senart's note, in which he claims the sense of "offer" for the middle *yācamāna*, shows that he misunderstood the whole passage.

[4] Senart prints *gṛihṇātū* ("let her take") in brackets as it is a substitute for the MSS. reading of which he cannot make anything. It is probable, however, that *pi ta* in the MSS. reading *so pi ta°* is a remnant of a reading which corresponded to *piḷayhatthā* in *J*. This latter form is from *piḷayhati*, shortened from *apiḷayhati* or *apiḷahati*, Sk. *apinahati*, "to tie on," "wear," which itself is sometimes found shortened into *pinahyate*. The original *Mhvu*. reading may thus have contained a form of this verb with either *ḷ* or *n*, and the translation has been made on this supposition.

[5] Reading *ko*, with *J*., for *sa* of the text.

[6] Literally "a sound of anger," *krodhaśabda*.

[7] *I.e.*, Indra.

[8] *Paramārthadarśino*. This epithet sounds out of place here. *J*. has *paramappakopitā* "greatly stirred."

The Razer of Strongholds,[1] *beholding the maidens so earnest*[2] *in their quest, joyously replied, " You are alike in all things, O fair-limbed maidens.* (55) *Who, then, has already*[3] *stirred up this dispute ? "*

" The great seer named Nārada, who ranges over the whole world and who is valiant in truth, said to us, on Mount Gandhamādana ' Go and ask the lord of creatures.' "

[Śakra said to Mātali :][4]—

" In a region far from here, on the banks of the Ganges on the slopes of the Himalayas, dwells Kośika, whose supply of food is scanty. To him, O charioteer of the devas, take[5] *ambrosia."*

[Kośika said to him :][6]—

"As I am getting ready to sacrifice to Agni you come like a light dispelling the darkness of the world, like a sun in the world. What god are you and wherefore are you come ?

" Never before have my eyes beheld the like.[7] *White as a pearl is it, without compare, fragrant to smell and beautiful to gaze upon. What god are you and wherefore are you come ? "*

[Mātali replied :]—

" Mighty seer, I was sent by great Indra. I came in haste to bring you this ambrosial food. Know that I am Mātali, the charioteer of the devas. Partake of this, the choicest food that one could wish.

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[1] *Puramdara.* It is worth noting that this Vedic epithet of Indra (Śakra, Sakka) as the god who " shattered the fortress " or the cloud, and so released the life-giving rain, has in the Pali texts been distorted into *purindada,* which was variously interpreted as " a giver of alms in times past " (*VvA.* 171), " a bestower of the gift of dharma " (*MA.* 3. 98), or " a giver of gifts from town to town " (*S.* 1. 229). For an interesting note on the Pali term and its implication of a belief in the identity of the Buddha and Sakka, see Miss I. B. Horner on *M.*1. 386 in her forthcoming translation of that work.

[2] Reading *āyattamanā* as in *J.*, for *anāttamanā* of the text.

[3] *Thehapūrvam* = (*a*) *tha-iha-pūrvam.* But the reading is suspect.

[4] The interlocutors are supplied from *J.*

[5] Reading *prāpaya* (as in *J.*) *devasārathi* for *preśayi devasārathis* of the text, which latter would make Mātali himself send the ambrosia. But in *J.* we read of Sakka deliberating and finally deciding to send Mātali with the ambrosia.

[6] *I.e.* to Mātali when he arrived with the ambrosia.

[7] *I.e.* the like of the ambrosia.

"By eating of this you will destroy[1] *twelve evils, namely hunger, thirst, discontent, old age, fatigue,* (56) *anger, enmity, strife, calumny, cold, heat and sloth. It is the supreme essence."*

[Kośika said :]—

"O Mātali, it is not seemly for me to eat alone. Though formerly I held that to eat without sharing was the ideal conduct, I no longer approve of eating alone.[2] *For he who eats without sharing does not find happiness.*

"Betrayers of friends,[3] *brigands, violators of women, and robbers, with these, misers are classed as equal. I would not taste*[4] *the ambrosia without first sharing it."*

The four maidens, his own daughters, Faith, Hope, Glory and Honour,[5] *in shining splendour were sent by the king of the devas to the hermitage where Kośika dwelt.*

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[1] *Literally,* "destroy," imperative, if, that is, the lacuna in the text . . . .] *hi* is to be supplied by *jahi*. *J.* has *hanti*.

[2] Reading *ekāsanam* (with *bhojanam* understood. See references in *P.E.D.*) for *ekasya na* of the text, which, as Senart's translation shows, gives an incongruous sense.

[3] The text has *mitraṃ opayikam*, which is obviously incorrect. The corresponding passage in *J.* (5. 397) enumerates four classes of evil doers, to which misers are added as a fifth. That the *Mhvu.* also intends the same would seem to be indicated by the presence of the numeral adjective *pañcama* in two MSS. *Mitraṃ opayikam*, "a suitable friend," therefore, cannot possibly be the right reading. Senart says that it was suggested to him by one MS. (L) ; but a better clue to the right conjectures eems furnished by another MS. (c), which has *mitra oparipattika*. The latter would suggest the Pali *paripāṭeti* or °*paṭeti*, causative of *paripaṭati*, in BSk. *paripāṭayati* (*Divy.* 417), "to destroy," "ruin." The sense, therefore, would be satisfied by a form of the causative of *paṭ*, perhaps *opātenta* (= *avapātentā*), "those who ruin or betray friends." But it is not safe to make a definitive emendation without collating all the MSS. It is to be noted, further, that for the reading of the text *ye* (*a*)*paharanti artham*, "robbers," two MSS. have *ye svapanti artham*, where the verb seems to be an echo of the Pali *sapanti* in *J.'s sapanti subbate* "curse holy men."

[4] Literally "eat," *nāse* for *nāśe* from *na-aś*, "to eat," and not as Senart says from *naś* "to destroy" *J.* has *nāsmiye* = *na-asmiye*, indic. pres. mid. of *asati*, "to eat," in sense of future.

[5] The text reads *sudhām pi ādāya pratigrahārhām*, "(the maidens) bringing the ambrosia that was worthy of acceptance." But it was not they who brought the ambrosia to Kośika ; it had already been brought by Mātali, and they themselves were come to ask for a share of it. The translation, accordingly, follows *J.*, the corresponding verse of which names the four maidens thus *Āsā ca Saddhā ca Sirī Hirī tato*. The four corresponding Sk. names, though not in the same order, could plausibly be substituted for the text reading. *Sudhām* and *ādāya*, at any rate, readily suggest *Śraddhā* and *Āśā*, and perhaps the whole verse originally read, *Śraddhā ca Āśā ca Śirī Hirī tathā*.

When Kośika, the devout and thoughtful seer, saw the four maidens standing in radiance and unsupported, each in her own quarter of the heavens, he addressed them each in turn.

" O goddess that standest in the east like the star of healing[1] *with thy slender-waisted body all golden,*[2] (57) *I implore thee to tell me who thou art."*

[Glory said :]

" I am Glory, revered of men, always serving the great and seeking their success. I am come before you, O wise man, to ask you to regale me with ambrosia."

[Kośika replied :]

" Though a man be endowed with virtue, character, wisdom and skill in all he does, [without thee he achieves nothing.][3] *This is not well done by thee.*

" Again, a man that is lazy, unskilled, ill-favoured and ugly to boot, helped by thee, O Glory, becomes rich and successful, and orders the well-born man[4] *about like a slave."*

[Kośika next addressed Faith :][5]

" Thou that art radiant and splendid with glory as thou standest over against the pleasant north-east,[6] *with thy golden slender-waisted body,*[7] *prithee tell me what goddess thou art."*

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[1] *Tāravarā oṣadhi.* See references in *P.E.D.* (*s.v. osadhi*).

[2] *Kāñcanavedivigrahe.* For *vedi J.* has *velli,* and the *Commentary* explains the compound word as *kāñcana-rūpaka-sadisasarīra,* " body like a form of gold." It is interesting to note, however, that *velli* at *J.* 6. 456, where it is similarly applied to describe the slender waist of a woman, is explained by the *Commentary* as *vedi* (" rail," " cornice "), the actual form in our text. See *J. trans.* (5, p. 213, footnote) for references to passages which would seem to make *velli* = some part of dress.

[3] The last pāda but one of this stanza is wanting. What is printed in its place is the duplicate of the third pāda of the next stanza. The missing pāda is supplied in translation from *J., tayā vihīnā na labhanti kiñcanam.* The last pāda is misplaced as the concluding pāda of the next stanza, *tadidamasādhu yadidaṃ tvayā kṛitam,* which corresponds to the Pali *tayidaṃ na sādhu yadidaṃ tayā katam,* but is here, for the purpose of the translation, restored to its proper place, replacing *preśeti dāsaṃ viya bhogavāṃ sukhī* which, in turn, is transferred to its proper place as the fourth pāda of the next stanza.

[4] Reading *jātimantaṃ pi for jātimantiyā* (*sic*) of the text.

[5] In *J.*, Hope is the next to be addressed.

[6] *Manorameśāhvayanāṃ diśam.* Senart admits that his restoration of the text is very doubtful here, and he can adduce in support of it, only the expression *eśānī diś,* a term used for the " north-east."

[7] See *n.* 2.

[Faith replied :]

" I am Faith, revered of men, always serving the great and seeking their success. I am come before you, O wise man, to ask you to regale me with ambrosia."

[Kośika said :]

" His[1] *wife may be of high degree,*[2] *honourable,* (58) *chaste and devoted, but yet a man may leave her, daughter of a good family*[3] *though she be, and put his faith in a slave-girl.*[4]

" Through faith men at times display morality, learning[5] *and self-control. But when faith is at fault, has it not the appearance of a destroyer?*[6] *This that thou dost is not well done.*

" I tell it to thy face. I know thee for a fool and a gambler. Such an one as thou does not deserve a seat or water, not to speak of ambrosia. Begone, thou dost not please me."

[Kośika next addressed Hope :]

" Thou that standest with thy slender-waisted golden body like the star of healing when night wanes[7] *and the sun rises, prithee tell me what goddess thou art.*

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1 Reading *se* = *asya* for *me*.

2 *Sadriśā*, so translated after the Commentary's explanation of *sadisīsu* in *J.*, *jātigottasīlādihi sadisīsu.*

3 Reading *sukulāṃ dhītaram* for *svakulaṃ dhītarā* of the text.

4 Reading *kumbhadāśiye*, " the slave-girl who carried the pot," for °*kāsiye* of the text. The latter form naturally puzzles Senart and prompts him to suggest °*kāriye*, and to imagine a reference to a tale in which a man leaves his high-born wife for the wife of a potter !

5 *Śrutam*, unless we read *tyāgam* (" charity "), corresponding to *cāgam* in *J.* The text of the next pāda is very corrupt. The translation of the distich follows *J.*, in which the second pāda is *ādāya saddhāya karonti h'ekadā.* Corresponding to this our text has *śraddhā satī yatra* [ ] *ekadā.* The similarity between the Sk. and the Pali is sufficiently close to justify translating from the latter, but the *apparatus* contains nothing to help towards a full restoration of the Sk. pāda.

6 *Naiṣa sāvadyena vighātadarśanā.* This is rather obscure, but the obscurity is due to the abridged character of the *Mhvu.* text rather than to defects in it. It is worthy of special note that *sāvajja* and *anavajja* are the adjectives used by the *Commentary* on the corresponding passage in *J.* to denote the wrong (faulty) and the right (faultless) type of faith respectively. The right kind of faith has been instanced in the first half of this stanza, but there is no example of its contrary in the second half, only a statement, almost a definition, of its nature, much as though a whole pāda had developed from a gloss (*sāvadya*).

7 The text here has *jahāti rātrī*, but Senart doubts this reading, and we should probably read *jaghanyarātrīm*, " when night is low (in the west) " ; the whole pāda then corresponds to the Pali *dighaññarattiṃ aruṇasmi ūhate* (*J.* 5. 403), which, however, there introduces the appearance of Honour, not Hope as here.

"Like a straying doe, driven off and separated (from the herd) through fear of the (hunter's) arrow,[1] *thou turnest thy timid eyes to me. Gentle-limbed goddess, what comrade seest thou here? Art thou not afraid of being alone?"*

[Hope replied:]

"No friend of mine has come hither. I am a goddess from Masakkasāra.[2] *I am Hope, come hither to ask for ambrosia.* (59) *O, wise man, do you therefore regale me with ambrosia."*

[Kośika said:]

"In hope the husbandmen till their fields, and sons and wives gather to help them. But rain destroys their work or lightning comes to blight it. This that thou doest is not well done.

"In hope men embark on ships in quest of wealth, and cross the seas. But they sink with their ships[3], *or else they miserably escape with their lives, losing all their gains.*

"I tell it to thy face. I know thee for a fool and a gambler. Such an one as thou does not deserve a seat or water, not to speak of ambrosia. Begone, thou dost not please me."

[Kośika then addressed Honour:]

"Who art thou that art seen [ ][4] *draped in clusters*

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[1] The text has *sara* (= *śara*) *bhāya varjitā*, which Senart translates "jetée en proie au śarabha." It is difficult, however, to see the point of throwing a *mṛiga* as prey to a *śarabha*, practically one deer to another. Seeing that an authority like Senart overlooked the possibility of it, the translator is diffident in making what seems to him the obvious conjecture that *sarabhāya* hides a form of *sara* (or *śara-*), "fear of an arrow," perhaps the ablative *sarabhayā* (for *sarabhayād*). At any rate, this gives a more plausible sense and has been adopted for the translation. It is, moreover, fairly close to the reading of *J.*, *saracāpadhārinā virādhitā* "missed by one holding a bow and arrow," *i.e.* by a hunter.

[2] Senart leaves a lacuna here, reading [ ] *pravarāsmi devatā*, but as one MS. reads *masakkasāra pra°* the whole pāda has been restored as *masakkasāraprabhavāsmi devatā*, which makes it identical with *J.*, *masakkasārappabhav' amhi devatā*. Masakkasāra was a name given to Trāyastriṃśa (Tāvatiṃsa). See *D.P.N.*

[3] *Ālambane*, literally "on what supports them," if, that is, this is the right reading, of which Senart is far from assured. Anyhow the translation here given would seem preferable to what Senart proposes for *ālambane tatra sīdanti*, "ils sont uniquement appliqués à ce but," à savoir, gagner de l'argent. *J.* has *te tattha sīdanti atho pi ekadā.*

[4] Lacuna in text.

of blossoms, with lion-bracelets,[1] *burnished girdle,*[2] *flaming hair,*[3] *and well-fitting ear-rings. With thy complexion like the* uśira[4] *thou art radiant to behold.*

"Thou that art come hither like a plant in the rainy season, in autumn, with its crown of scarlet leaves stirred by the wind,[5] *I ask thee of the golden slender-waisted body who thou art."*

[Honour replied:]

"I am Honour, revered of men, ever serving men of high degree. (60) *I am come into your presence to seek ambrosia.*[6] *Yet I can not, mighty seer, ask it of you."*

[Kośika said:]

"No low-born woman is here, I know it. O fair-limbed one, thou shalt receive[7] *what is thy due.*[8] *E'en though thou askest not for it, this ambrosia will I produce for thee, this life-giving draught I give thee.*

"I invite thee of the slender-waisted golden body to enter

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[1] *Sīhāñgadā.* Senart takes *sīha* to be corrupt; but one may compare Pali *sīhakuṇḍala*, "lion earring" (*J.* 5. 348). *Sīha* is used for *siṃha* above p. 34, *n.* 5. *J.* has *cittañgadā*, "spangled bracelets." Note that this part of the description of Honour is applied in *J.* to Hope.

[2] *Kāñcipramṛiṣṭadhāraṇī.* *J.* has *kambuvimaṭṭhadhārinī*, "wearing bracelets of burnished shells."

[3] The text has *kuśāgraraktā*, "coloured like the tip of *kuśa* grass," which hardly makes sense here. *J.* has in the corresponding pāda, *kusaggirattaṃ apilayha manjarim*, "wearing a sprig the colour of flame fed by *kuśa* grass." It would seem easy to emend *kuśāgra*° into *kuśāgni*, "the colour of the *kuśa* flame," and understand it as being applied to the hair.

[4] The fragrant root of *Andropogon Muricatum.*

[5] The description now comes back to that of Honour as in *J.* Our text has for the second pāda *alaṃkṛitā lohitamālinā*, followed by a lacuna. The first pāda reads *gate yathā prāvṛiṣi atra sārade.* Some noun is evidently wanted here to complete the simile implied by *yathā*. *J.* has for the first pāda *kālā nidāghe-r-iva aggijāt' iva* which *J. trans.*, following the *Commentary*, takes to refer to a plant growing on burnt ground and identified in a footnote as *ipomoea*. The second pāda in *J.* reads *anileritā lohitapattamālinī*, and the corresponding one in our text has been emended and completed accordingly as *anileritā lohitāpatramālinī*. The latter compound is taken to qualify the implied word for "plant" required to complete the simile. Neither *J.* nor *Mhvu.* text seems above suspicion, but the Pali has in its first pāda a more definite allusion to a particular plant.

[6] Reading *sudheṣinī* for *sukheṣinī* of the text.

[7] In spite of *lakṣate* on p. 58 (text), which Senart takes to be for passive *lakśyate*, "est vu," it is better to take *lakṣase* here either as a mistake for *lapsyase* (=*labh*) or as a Sanskritisation of Pali *lacchasi* in the corresponding pāda at *J.* 5. 404. Otherwise the sense is not clear.

[8] *Dharmeṇa.*

my retreat. I would honour thee with all good things. Although I refused before to share this ambrosia, there is enough of it for thee and me."

This retreat was strewn with divers flowers and echoed to the sweet notes of birds. The fair-complexioned Honour then entered the retreat which was well-watered and abounding in fruits and roots.

Here many tree-tops were in bloom such as the sāl tree, the piyal, the bread-fruit, the tinduka,[1] *the* śobhāñjana,[2] *the* lodhra[3] [ ],[4] *the trumpet-flower tree,*[5] *and the fragrant* mucilindaka.[6]

By the entrance were the jujube-tree, many tamālas, *the holy fig-tree, the banyan-tree, and the glomerous fig-tree, the* tilaka,[7] *the* kadamba,[8] *the* campaka[9] and *plants of rice and millet.*[10]

(61) *There a couch was laid, made with fragrant* kuśa *grass and covered with deer-skin. Kośika said to Honour,*[11] *"Pray, lovely one, sit down in comfort on this couch."*

And as she sat on the couch of kuśa *grass, Kośika, in matted hair and antelope's skin,*[12] *with his own hands brought her what she wished,*[13] *the ambrosia on freshly*

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[1] *Diospyros embryopteris.*

[2] *Hyperanthica moringa.*

[3] Also *rodhra,* Pali *lodda. Symplocos racemosa.*

[4] Lacuna in text, but no more than a conjunction seems lacking.

[5] *Pāṭalā. Bignonia suaveolens.*

[6] *Barringtonia acutangula.*

[7] "A species of tree with beautiful flowers, so-called either because it is similar in some way to the sesamum plant, or because it is used as an ornament on the forehead." (*M.W.*)

[8] *Nauclea cordifolia.*

[9] *Michelia champaka.*

[10] The text has *prasātikā śyāmaka tatra taṇḍulā,* literally "(a kind of) small-grained rice, millet (Panicum frumentaceum), and (rice) grain (or, "a vermifuge plant"). The allusion is obviously to certain plants, not to grain, but there is no means of ascertaining what particular kinds of rice-plant are meant. Hence the paraphrase above.

[11] This pāda is too corrupt for solution, and even as restored by Senart —*āśitakurvī harate niṣanno*—does not admit of a coherent translation. The translation given above is of part of the corresponding pāda in *J.* (p. 407), *Hirim etad abravi.* The *harate* of our text would seem to suggest that originally the pāda contained the word *Hirim,* if not also *etad.* In any case, the assumed translation fits in with the next pāda, which is practically identical with the corresponding one in *J.*

[12] Reading *jaṭājinaṃdhārin* for *jaṭāyantaṃ dhanena.*

[13] Reading *yad icchamānāya* for *jayettamānaye.*

gathered leaves, and gladly[1] *the great seer presented her with the ambrosia.*[2]

She joyfully took the gift at once and in elation addressed the matted-haired recluse, saying, " O Kośika, great is the honour which you have shown me. Now I go to wait on the Three-and-Thirty."

Proud of the honour paid her by Kośika she came to the Three-and-Thirty, eager for the prize. And when she had come thither she said to the hundred-eyed Śakra, " Here is the ambrosia. This is my meed of victory, O Vāsava![3] *"*

The messenger Mātali was there, having returned earlier, and now stood before the assembly of the devas. To him [Śakra] said," Go again and inquire for what reason Honour won[4] *the ambrosia."*

And Mātali took out his chariot from its place.[5] (62) *It was a golden chariot, of refined gold, flashing like the sun, and adorned with divers golden images.*

There were elephants, monkeys, tigers and leopards instinct with life,[6] *and antelopes wrought of beryl appeared there as well.*[7] *All were splendid, brilliant and beautiful, like previous stones and beryl.*

Below was a manesī[8] *and above was a* kupsara[8], *and the chariot was also adorned with crescents of gold.*[9] *And as*

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[1] Literally " in haste," *tvarito*. See next note.

[2] Our text here reads *sā adhyabhāṣi tvaritā mahāmunim,* but this is obviously incorrect. For the reply of Honour is given a little further on, when she is said to be actually holding the gift in her hands. It is a simple matter to amend this pāda into *sudhāmabhyaharṣīt tvarito mahāmuni*, on the analogy of *J.'s sudh'ābhihāsi turito mahāmuni.*

[3] Name of Śakra (Indra). Several explanations are given of the title. See *D.P.N.*

[4] *Abhilabdhe*, ? aorist. If this form is inadmissible, Senart would suggest the past part. *abhilabdhā* in an active sense.

[5] ? (*a*)*vatārād*, *i.e.* where the charioteers " alighted " and the chariots were kept.

[6] Literally " went," *gatās*. The participle is taken to imply that the pictures or images were realistic and the animals depicted instinct with movement. Cf. *J. mig'ettha . . . yuddhāyutā*, " Here antelopes and deer are seen as if prepared to fight."

[7] *Upāgatā*, see preceding note.

[8] Two inexplicable words. *J.* affords no clue to their interpretation.

[9] *Suvarṇacandra*. *J.* has *suvaṇṇacanda,* which the translation (5. p. 217) renders " peacocks of gold," although the *Commentary* explains by *suvaṇṇamayā candakā ettha rathe*. The verse passages in *J. trans.* are too often poor guides for construing the text, accuracy being sacrificed for the sake of poetic style.

he mounted this finest of chariots Mātali made the great earth rejoice in all its ten quarters.

The whole earth quaked, with its snakes, rocks, forest trees and oceans. Quickly and speedily he came to the retreat where Kośika abode.

Then Mātali [said . . .][1] *"I am his messenger. The Razer of Strongholds*[2] *asks you on what score you think that Honour is better than Glory, Faith and Hope."*

[Kośika replied . . .] "O Mātali, Glory appears to me a partial jade.[3] *Faith again, O charioteer of the devas, is fickle,* (63) *and Hope, it seems to me, is prone to break her word.*

"But Honour is gracious and completely pure. When men in the van of the battle have lost all heart and are sore bestead,[4] *are dispersed*[5] *and assailed by arrows,*[6] *Honour checks the inmost thoughts of their hearts.*

"Honour is best among men, O Mātali. She is desirable to the young and to the old.[7] *She turns the foeman's rage to love. She checks the inmost thought of the heart."*

"Who established this belief[8] *in you, Kośika? Was it mighty Indra or Sahāmpati?*[9] *O kinsman of Indra,*[10]

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[1] Lacuna.

[2] See p. 52, *n.* 1.

[3] Lacuna in text. As, however, the epithets applied to the others correspond in both *J.* and our text, it is justifiable to supply here the Sk. equivalent of the *addhā* of *J.*, viz. *ardrā*, "moist, soft." The expression "partial jade" is borrowed from *J. trans.*

[4] A paraphrase selected to suit the context, rather than an exact translation of *pravarjitā*, a conjecture of Senart's, which he admits to be very doubtful. For it demands a strained application of the technical sense of this word, "to place in or on the fire" (in a sacrifice), from which Senart would deduce the meaning of "mis au feu," "éprouvé." The MSS. have *pravrajitā*, which would suit the context, but is unmetrical. Could not the right reading, however, be the causative form *pravrājita* "driven away" (from the fight), *i.e.* fleeing?

[5] Reading *vipadyamānā* for *vipaśyamānā*, which is Senart's conjecture for *vipuny*° of the MSS., but which he admits is an expression "d'excessive platitude."

[6] Reading *śarair upadrutā* for *surabhī upadrutā*. Senart is at pains to prove that *surabhī* can mean "humble" or "resigned."

[7] *Mahallike.* According to *P.E.D.*, *mahallika* is "a distorted *mahariyaka* > *ayyaka* > *allaka*." Both *mahallaka* and *mahallika* are found in the *Mhvu.*, *e.g.* 1. 262, 302; 3. 206, 265. At 3. 265 *mahallikā* is a feminine form.

[8] Reading *dṛṣṭim* for *dṛṣṭam*. Senart leaves a lacuna for the verb, but this may be supplied in translation from *odahi* (< *o* = *ava* + *dhā*) of the corresponding pāda in *J.*, which is otherwise identical with our text.

[9] A name for Brahmā or Mahābrahmā deva. (See *DPN*.)

[10] See p. 49, *n.* 4. *Kauśika* is a well-known name of Indra.

Indra longs for you, O younger brother of the companionship of his state."[1]

Then Kośika, casting off his corporeality,[2] *endowed with virtue and without an equal,*[3] *and having acquired rich merits in his retreat, on the dissolution of his body passed to the joys of heaven.*

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the seer of the Kauśika clan, named Nārada,[4] was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, (64) monks, at that time and on that occasion was the seer of the Kauśika clan named Nārada. Again, monks, you may think that somebody else was at that time and on that occasion the daughter of Śakra, lord of the devas, named Honour. But you must not think so. And why? Because it was Yaśodharā here who at that time and on that occasion was the daughter of Śakra, lord of the devas, named Honour. Then, too, did she bashfully caress me as she did on that other occasion.

Here ends the Mañjarī-Jātaka.

THE GODHĀ JĀTAKA[5]

The monks asked the Exalted One, "How was it, Lord, that Yaśodharā could not be satisfied? For when as a young man thou wast distributing ornaments[6] among the maidens

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[1] *Tasyaiva bhāvasahavratānuja* (voc.), but the last compound is suspect. The *apparatus criticus*, however, affords no help to bring the pāda nearer the corresponding one in *J.*, which reads *ajjeva tvam Indasahavyatāṃ vajā ti* "to-day enter into fellowship with Indra." Perhaps we should read accordingly *°vratāṃ vraja*. *Sahavratā* is, of course, the BSk. equivalent of Pali *sahavyatā*.

[2] *Ucchraya*. Cf. *samucchraya*, Vol. 1, p. 134, *n.* 1.

[3] *Asadhuryabhūta*. So interpreted by Senart.

[4] This implies that the brāhman seer who has throughout been referred to by his clan name Kośika (Kauśika) had as his personal name Nārada. But in *J.* the latter is the name of the seer who first caused the dispute between the four nymphs by offering a branch of the Pāricchattaka tree to the best of them. He is identified with Sāriputta, not with the Buddha as here, while Kosiya (Kośika) is identified with an unnamed *dānapati bhikkhu*, "a monk of lordly generosity."

[5] *J.*, 3. 106. (Fausböll, 333.)

[6] This *nidāna* is out of place, as the incident on which it is based comes later in the story of Gotama's youth. See p. 73 (text.)

and didst give Yaśodharā a necklace worth a hundred-thousand pieces, she said, 'Is it just this much that I deserve?' And thou didst then give her a finger-ring worth another hundred thousand pieces; but even so she was not satisfied. How was it that Yaśodharā could not be pleased and satisfied?"

The Exalted One replied, "That was not the first time, monks, that Yaśodharā here was displeased. There was another occasion also when she was displeased.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, there reigned a king named Suprabha. He had a son named Sutejas, who was virtuous, powerful, secure,[1] sociable,[2] not forward in speaking,[3] but of good address; he was courted and respected by the ministers, the commander-in-chief and every headman of villages.

The thought occurred to the king: "Here are all the people attracted by the virtuous qualities of the young prince. Some day they will kill me and put him on the throne." So the king banished the prince.

And the prince with his wife (**65**) made a hut of grass and leaves in a forest clearing in the Himalayas, and lived on roots, fruits and water, eating the flesh of deer and wild hogs when they were fortunate to get it. Once when the prince was absent from the retreat a cat killed a fat[4] lizard, threw it down in front of his wife and went away. She would not touch the lizard with her hands.

The young prince returned to the retreat bringing roots and fruits and saw there that frightful fat lizard. He asked the princess where the lizard came from. She replied, "It was brought by a cat." The prince asked, "Is this lizard not cooked?" She replied, "I accounted it no better than cow-dung,[5] and so I did not cook it." The young prince said, "This is not uneatable; men eat it." And he skinned

[1] *Nivāta*, "not blown upon by the wind," *i.e.* protected.
[2] *Sukhasaṃsparṣa*, "of agreeable touch."
[3] *Pūrvālāpin*, "allowing others to speak before him," on the analogy of *pūrvaṃgama*, Pali *pubbangama*, "allowing to go before."
[4] *Vaṭhara*, "bulky, gross." See *P.E.D.*, which refers to this passage of the *Mhvu.* and cites a root *vaṭh* given at *Dhtm.* 133 in meaning *thūlattane bhave i.e.* "bulkiness."
[5] *Gomaya ti kṛitvā*, a reading which Senart adopts "faute de mieux."

and cooked the lizard, and when it was cooked hung it on the branch of a tree.

His wife took a pitcher and went to fetch water. "I am going," she said, "to fetch water, then I shall prepare a meal." She saw that the lizard when cooked was good in colour and smell, appetising[1] and fresh, and she coveted it. But the prince thought with regard to his wife: "The princess was not willing to touch even with her hands this lizard when it was uncooked. When, however, it is ready cooked she is glad to eat of it. If she had any love for me she would have cooked the lizard when I was gone to gather fruits. So I will not share the lizard with her, but will eat it all myself."

He consumed the lizard when the princess was gone to fetch water. She returned carrying a pitcher of water and asked the prince, "Sir, where is the lizard?" The prince replied, "It has escaped." The princess then reflected: "How could a lizard which had been cooked and tied to a branch of a tree (66) escape?" And the king's daughter came to the conclusion that the young prince did not love her, and sorrow entered her heart.

All beings will die, for the end of life is death. According to their deeds so will they reap a good or a bad reward. The evil-doers will go to hell, the good to heaven. Others who have advanced in the Way[1] *will pass entirely away rid of the* āśravas.

Now King Suprabha succumbed to the fate of mortals.[1] The ministers thereupon fetched the young prince Sutejas from the forest and consecrated him to the throne of Benares.

Everything which King Sutejas possessed he laid at his queen's feet. Everything in his realm which he considered a treasure, he brought to her. All the exquisite raiments, jewels, necklaces and half-necklaces he brought to her. But he could

[1] *Alūha*, negative of *lūha*, BSk. for Vedic *rūkṣa*, Pali *lūkha* "rough," "coarse," "unpleasant," etc. See *P.E.D.* The form *lūkha* is found at *Mhvu.* 3. 120, 178, 364.

[1] Literally, "made become or developed the Way or Path," *mārgaṃ bhāvetvā*.

[1] Literally, "was bound to (by) the condition of temporality or mortality," *kāladharmeṇa saṃyukta*.

not satisfy her, for the affair of the lizard still rankled in her heart.

Then King Sutejas reflected: "I have shown the queen every good disposition; I have shown her every fondness, but I cannot please her." So he said to her, "Lady, I have shown you every good disposition; I have shown you every fondness, but I cannot please you. I do not understand why this should be so.[1] Let the queen speak."

The queen replied to King Sutejas with a verse:

Even to-day, my lord, I still bear in mind that behaviour of yours in the forest, when, though you had a bow in your hand and a quiver at your side, a cooked lizard hanging from a branch of a tree escaped from you.

The king replied:

Honour him who honours you; share with him who shares with you. (67) *Do good to him who has done his duty by you. Share not with him who shares not. Serve not him who does not wish you well.*

Forsake him who forsakes you; have no friendship with him.[2] *A bird which sees that a tree has lost its fruit looks out for another. For the world is wide.*

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion somebody else was the king named Sutejas. But you must not think so. And why? Because I at that time and on that occasion was the king of Benares named Sutejas. You may think that the chief queen of King Sutejas was somebody else. But you must not think so. For Yaśodharā here, monks, was the chief queen of King Sutejas. At that time, too, she was displeased and could not be satisfied. And on this other occasion she was displeased and could not be satisfied.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Lizard.

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[1] *Kiṃ atra antaram?* Cf. Pali *kiṃ antaram* = *kiṃ kāraṇā?*

[2] The text has *satataṃ na gaccha*, "always do not go" = "never go" (*sc.* to him.) This seems rather a weak expression, and, though there is apparently no MS. justification for doing so, *satatam* has been emended into *sakhitām*—"do not enter into friendship."

The Gift of a Necklace to Yaśodharā

The monks asked the Exalted One, "Was it when the Exalted One was a young man distributing jewels to the maidens in the park, that he gave so many to Yaśodharā?" The Exalted One replied, "No, monks, this was not the first time,[1] that I gave a number of jewels to Yaśodharā." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, there was another occasion."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the land of Kāśi, there reigned a king who was virtuous, and mighty, who treated his subjects kindly,[2] who was generous, and possessed a great army, treasury, and many beasts of burden. His kingdom was flourishing, rich, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and thickly peopled (**68**) with happy subjects. Punishment with the scourge and the sword had been abolished. Thieves were held in check and commerce thrived. That king had five-hundred women in his court. She who was the king's chief queen was, above all the other women of his court, lovely, beautiful, accomplished, devout, and skilled in all the arts.

The king frequently distributed garments and jewels to the women of his court. He had a necklace worth a hundred thousand pieces. In the middle of it was a precious stone in which could be seen the four great continents of Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya and Uttarakuru,[3] as well as Sumeru, the monarch of mountains. This precious jewel in the middle of the great necklace was worth several hundred thousand pieces.

While the king was distributing the jewels he asked the queen, "Lady, you attract me very much. By what means do you attract me so?" And the queen[4] replied in a verse:

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[1] *Na idānīṃ eva.*

[2] Or, "who controlled his subjects (well)," *sangṛihītaparijana*. Generally *sunigṛihīta°* "well-restrained" or "governed" is used in this formula.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 7, *n.* 2.

[4] Text has *hevī* (sic) for *devī*.

Gesture, wanton behaviour, the excitement of sensuous attraction[1]—*by these three, O king, are fickle men stirred up.*

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion that king of Kāśi was somebody else. Indeed, you must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the king of Kāśi. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the king of Kāśi's chief queen was somebody else. That, again, you must not think. And why? Gracious Yaśodharā here was at that time and on that occasion the king of Kāśi's chief queen. Then, too, did I make her many gifts.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Gift of a Necklace to Yaśodharā.[2]

Yaśodharā as a tigress

When the Bodhisattva had renounced the protection[3] of his remonstrating, sobbing and tearful parents, (69) his rule as a universal king and his life in his comfortable[4] home, and had gone forth from home into the homeless state, then did Devadatta address Yaśodharā, saying to her, "My brother[5] has become a recluse. Come, be my chief queen." But she would not consent, because she yearned so much for the Bodhisattva. Sundarananda also said to her, "My brother has become a recluse. Come, be my chief queen." But she would not consent, because she yearned so much for the Bodhisattva.

When the Bodhisattva had set rolling the wheel of dharma,

[1] Literally "sensuous attraction by excitement," *nimittasya grāhaṇaṃ kautūhālena.* For *nimittasya grāhaṇaṃ*, cf. Pali *nimittagāhin* 'entranced with" (especially with an object of sight). See references in *P.E.D.*

[2] Not in *J*.

[3] The text has *hastoktaṃ = hasta-uktaṃ*, of which Senart remarks, "Je ne puis m' expliquer *hastokta* que dans le sens générique de 'prédit,' primitivement annoncé d après [les signes de] la main (?)'" This is obviously a, strained explanation. Even if the compound could have this meaning it would still remain to explain *bodhisattvo* in the nominative, for we should expect *bodhisattvena* "when it was said by the B." In these circumstances we may be justified in reading *hastatvam* (Pali *hatthattha* or *hattatthatā*. Cf. below, p. 182) "power," "control," or "protection."

[4] *Alūha*. See note p. 63.

[5] Strictly speaking, Devadatta was Gotama's cousin.

this got to the ears of the monks. They asked the Exalted One, "How is it, Lord, that Yaśodharā though wooed by both Sundarananda and Devadatta will not have them, but desires the Exalted One so much?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, this is not the first time that Yaśodharā was wooed by both Sundarananda and Devadatta, but rejected them because of her great desire for me. There was another occasion also when she was wooed by them, but refused them because of her great desire for me.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, there was a gathering of all four-footed animals at the foot of the Himalayas. And they said, "We have no king. Let a king of the four-footed animals, therefore, be appointed." And they agreed that it would be a very good thing to appoint a king of the four-footed animals. So they said, "Who, now, shall be appointed king of the four-footed animals?" And they decided thus: "Whosoever among us on the seventh day from this will be the first to reach the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains, shall become king of the four-footed animals."

So they made a rendezvous, and thence they raced for the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains. A tigress, outstripping all the others, was the first to reach the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains. And when she had reached the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains, she waited there for the other four-footed animals. And in due course all the four-footed animals reached the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains. There they saw the tigress waiting for them.

And when the four-footed animals (70) saw the tigress they were aggrieved and vexed. "We have been beaten by a tigress," said they. "And yet nowhere are females kings. Everywhere males are kings. Let us see to it that we do not break our promise,[1] and yet have a male for king."

And they spoke to the tigress, saying, "Lady, he whom you choose as mate shall be king of the four-footed animals." A bull caressed the tigress and said to her, "Lady, choose me for mate. I bring good luck in affairs of the world. With my ordure the temples of the gods are smeared and by its

[1] Literally "that nothing of ours be false," *yathā asmākaṃ na alikaṃ bhaveya*. *Alika*, like Pali, for Sk. *alīka*, "false," "contrary," "disagreeable."

means their transactions are carried out."[1] The tigress replied, " I could not wish you for mate, for you are always broken and fastened to ploughs and carts."

An elephant also approached the tigress and said to her, " Lady, I am strong and big in body and invincible in fights. Take me." But the tigress replied, " No, for when a lion roars you will not stop even to ease yourself, but run away."

Then a lion, the lord of beasts, caressed the tigress and said to her, " Lady, choose me for mate, the whole crowd of animals stand in awe of me." And the tigress replied, " Lord of beasts, I bow before you and accept you."

There was a great concourse of four-footed animals and they said: " Here are we without a king.[2] *Who then shall be made king over us?*

" Whosoever seven days hence will be the first to reach the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains, he will be made king."

Lions, tigers, deer, elephants, bulls and wolves failed to win the race and be the first to reach the mountain.

It was a tigress who came first to the stately, lovely and gigantic Himalayas. There she was, waiting for the other four-footed animals.

And when these arrived, there they saw the tigress. **(71)** *Seeing her they were aggrieved. " Lo," said they, " we are beaten by a female.*

" Females cannot be kings. But let us not break our promise. Whomsoever the tigress shall choose for mate, he shall be made king."

" By means of my ordure," said a bull, " the due affairs of the gods are carried out. Therefore, lady, choose me for mate."

The tigress replied :—

" I would not choose for mate one who is continually busy with ploughs and carts and always tired out, since he would live in the world of men."

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[1] An allusion to the magic use of ordure in primitive religious rites.

[2] Reading *arājakaṃ* for *ārājakaṃ* (sic).

An elephant said :—

"*I have others in my train.*[1] *I am invincible in fight, a sturdy elephant. Therefore, lady, choose me for mate.*"

The tigress replied :—

"*When the lion roars you are scared and run away, even though at the moment you may be easing yourself. I could not have such a one for mate.*"

A lion said :—

"*I am a lion with regular well-formed shoulders, and I range the mountains at will. All herds of beasts stand in awe of me. So, lady, choose me for mate.*"

(72) The tigress replied :—

"*I would choose for mate one like you endowed with all sterling qualities and independent as a mountain. I bow before you and accept you.*"

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion that lion, king of beasts, was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was that lion, king of beasts. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the bull was somebody else. Indeed you must not think so. And why? Sundarananda here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was that bull. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the elephant was somebody else. Indeed you must not think so. And why? Devadatta here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was that elephant. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion that tigress was somebody else. But she was Yaśodharā here. Then, too, when wooed by these she would not have them because of her great yearning for me. And now, also, when wooed by them she will not have them because she yearns so much for me.

Here ends the Jātaka of Yaśodharā as a Tigress.[2]

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[1] ? *anucaropeta* = *anucara-upeta.*
[2] Not in J.

The Wooing of Yaśodharā

When the Bodhisattva was distributing jewels to the maidens in the park, Yaśodharā came last of all when the beautiful things had all been given away.[1] And when the young prince saw Yaśodharā he kept his gaze fixed on her. He took off the costly necklace which he wore and which was worth a hundred-thousand pieces and gave it to Yaśodharā. With a smile she said, **(73)** "Is this all that I am worth?" The young prince, laughing, took off from his finger, his finger-ring, which was worth a hundred-thousand pieces, and gave it to her. And when he had thus distributed the jewels among the maidens he went to the palace.

The king asked his ministers, "On which of the maidens did the young prince fix his gaze?" They replied, "Your majesty, it was on the Śākyan Mahānāma's daughter, named Yaśodharā. It was on her that the eyes of the young prince fell."

Thereupon the king sent a message to Mahānāma requesting him to give his daughter to his son Sarvārthasiddha. But Mahānāma sent a message back to say, "I can not give Yaśodharā to the young prince. Because the lad has grown up among the women he has not advanced at all in the arts, in archery, in elephant-riding, in handling bow and sword, and in kingly accomplishments. In short, the prince has made no progress at all."

When King Śuddhodana heard this he was distressed. "It is," said he, "just as Mahānāma says. Out of too much affection for him I have not trained the lad in any art." And sorrowfully the king entered his palace. The young prince saw his father and asked him, "Why are you sorrowful?" The king replied, "Let be, son. What is that to you?" "Nay, father," said the lad, "I certainly must know the reason for it." And the king seeing the young prince so much concerned, and being pressed for an answer, informed him of the cause of his sadness, saying, "This is what the Śākyan Mahānāma told me when I asked him to give his daughter

[1] The two sentences interpolated here from the context on the next page and enclosed in brackets, are omitted in translation.

to you. 'Your son,' said he, 'has grown up among the women. He has nowise been trained in the arts, in archery, in skill with elephants, chariots and bows. I shall not give my daughter to him.'"

On hearing this the young prince said to his father, "Be not vexed, father. Cause a proclamation to be made in the towns and provinces that the prince will on the seventh day from this hold a tournament.[1] Let all come (74) who are skilled whether in knowledge of the arts, in archery, fighting, boxing, cutting, stabbing, in speed, in feats of strength,[2] in the use of elephants, horses, chariots, bows and spears, or in argument."[3]

When King Śuddhodana heard this he was pleased, and he caused a proclamation to be made in the city of Kapilavastu and in the country that the prince would on the seventh day hold a tournament. All who were skilled in knowledge of the arts or in archery were to come. Messengers were also sent to other places to announce that on the seventh day Prince Sarvārthasiddha, the son of Śuddhodana, was holding a tournament, and that all who were skilled were to attend. Thus the people hurried out from Kapilavastu, and the people from the provinces came too. From other places, also, men imbued with curiosity came to see the prowess of the young Śākyan princes and to see the feats of strength of Prince Sarvārthasiddha. And so many thousands had gathered together, and the princes hurried out from Kapilavastu.

Now an elephant which had been roaming outside the city entered Kapilavastu. It was sixty years old and endowed with perfect strength. Just then Devadatta was going out of Kapilavastu to the place of the tournament, mounted on a fine elephant. The straying elephant rushed at him. Devadatta, enraged, gave the sixty year old elephant one blow with the palm of his hand, and it fell dead there just at the city gate. And Devadatta, having killed the elephant, went out by the city gate.

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[1] Literally, "give an exhibition" *darśanaṃ dāsyati*.

[2] The text has *bahāhukke*, which is Senart's doubtful reading of the MSS, but which is an inexplicable word to him. A plausible emendation is *balākāra*, "use of force." In a parallel context immediately below the word used is *balaparākrama*.

[3] ? *Upavitarkeṣu* from *upavitarka*.

A great crowd of people including Prince Sundarananda had come to the spot. The latter asked someone, "Ho, sir, what is this mass of men doing at the city gate ?" The man replied, "This elephant was killed with one blow of the hand (**75**) by Devadatta as he was hurrying out. And now the elephant blocks the city gate. Devadatta could not drag it away, but passed on by leaping over it."

Then Sundarananda alighted from his chariot and dragged[1] the elephant seven paces. When the crowd of people saw this, they cried, "Bravo! Behold the strength of Prince Sundarananda who has dragged the elephant seven paces from the gate and gone past it."

The Bodhisattva in great majesty came on the scene and asked, "What is this great crowd of people doing at the city gate ?" They replied, "O prince, Devadatta was going out from Kapilavastu and a roaming elephant came in at the gate and rushed at him. In anger Devadatta with one blow of his hand slew the elephant, which fell blocking the city gate. But Devadatta was not able to drag it away from the city gate and he went past by leaping over it. Sundarananda, however, dragged it seven paces. And now here is all this people packed in a dense crowd. How can they go out ?"

At that time and on that occasion Kapilavastu was surrounded by seven walls. The Bodhisattva alighted from his chariot and with his own native[2] strength he hurled the elephant out of the city over the seven walls. When they saw the prowess of the Bodhisattva several thousands of devas and men shouted "Bravo!"

And the Bodhisattva went out. So, too, did King Śuddhodana with his Śākyan retinue and the Śākyan Mahānāma.

Then an exhibition was given by Prince Sarvārthasiddha at which he displayed his feats in all the arts. There was no one to equal him either in fighting or in boxing. In the

[1] *Kaḍḍhita* past part. of *kaḍḍhati*—"a dialectic form supposed to equal Sk. *karṣati*, cf. Prakr. *kaḍḍhai* "to pull, tear," *khaḍḍā* [? *khaḍḍhā*] "pit," "dug-out"; see Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.* xiv. p. 465" (*P.E.D.*, which, however, makes no reference to our text.). "To drag away", immediately above, is *apakarṣayitum*.

[2] *Mātāpitṛikena.* Senart, however, renders "fort comme père et mère."

last competition[1] they shot arrows[2]. In a space ten *kos*[3] long there were seven palm-trees. These seven palm-trees had been erected at intervals of a *kos*. At the far end of the palm-trees a drum was hung up. **(76)** One man shot through the trunk of one palm-tree, another through the trunk of two. Devadatta's arrow pierced the trunks of two palm-trees and stuck in the third. Sundarananda's arrow pierced the trunks of three palm-trees but fell to the ground between the third and the fourth.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva fetched the bow of his grandfather, King Siṃhahanu, of the race of devas. And he threw down the bow in the middle of the arena, saying, "Whosoever can draw[4] this bow let him have it." All the men tried this bow in their hands but no one was able to draw it. All the Śākyan princes tried, the Koliyan princes tried, the Licchavi princes tried, and other princes also tried, but no one was able to draw the bow.

Then the Bodhisattva seized the bow. After honouring it with a fragrant garland out of reverence for his grandfather, he drew the bow. And as the bow was being drawn all Kapilavastu heard the sound, and devas and men cried "Bravo!"

With one arrow the Bodhisattva shot through the seven palm-trees and the drum, the arrow then entering the earth.[5] Devas and men cried "Bravo!" A celestial shower of blossoms was poured down from heaven by thousands of devas. When they saw the prince's feat of strength and the force of his intelligence, and realised that he was fully trained in strength, efficiency[6] and wisdom, the whole kingdom of Śākya, and other kings as well, rejoiced. For great was the good fortune

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[1] Literally "exhibition," *nidarśana*.

[2] *Bāṇā vidhyanti*. *Vidhyanti* is from *vyadh* on the analogy of Pali *vijjhati*, which is both active and passive. We might expect here *bāṇais*, *i.e.*, "they shot with arrows." But as *vyadh*, "to pierce" is especially used in the sense of "to shoot" *sc.* with arrows, *bāṇā* may be legitimately nominative as the subject of *vidhyanti* taken as a passive form. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 11. *n.* 3.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 36, *n.* 2.

[4] Literally "to fill," *pūrayitum*. Cf. Semitic (Hebrew and Syriac, *e.g.*) use of root *ml'* "to be full," causative "to fill," for "to draw" a bow.

[5] Miss I. B. Horner has called the translator's attention to an article by A. K. Coomaraswamy, entitled "the Symbolism of Archery," in *Ars Islamica* Vol. 10 (1943), where allusion is made to a similar competition in archery in the *Mahābhārata* (1. 76 ff.). There, also, the arrows of the winner, Arjuna, not only penetrate the target, but pass through and hit the ground.

[6] *Ṛiddhi*—not necessarily "*magic* power" here.

won by the Śākyans and King Śuddhodana to whom such a Great Man had been born.

When the Bodhisattva had gone forth from home, had awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment and had set rolling the excellent wheel of dharma, (**77**) the monks heard of this performance. And they said to the Exalted One, "With the Exalted One the long-lost fist of the Śākyans was found[1] again." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, it was not then only that I recovered the long-lost fist of the Śākyans. There was another occasion also."

The Story of Dharmapāla[2]

The Exalted One said:—

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, there ruled a king named Brahmadatta. He had put down all opponents and enemies and his province was well controlled. He was liberal, generous, virtuous, mighty, powerful and wealthy, having many beasts of burden. His realm was thriving, prosperous, peaceful and well-supplied with food, and was thickly peopled.

That king had a household priest named Brahmāyus, who was master of the three Vedas, the indexes, the ritual and of the fifth branch of study, that is, traditional lore,[3] and was perfect[4] in phonology, etymology and grammar. As a teacher he was expert in the Brāhmaṇas and Vedas, and also in the

[1] Literally "was known" *jñāta*. That is, before Siddhārtha none of Siṃhahanu's descendants had had the strength of hand to draw the bow.

[2] Compare, for the general theme and the language of some of the verses, the *Mahādhammapāla Jātaka* (*J*. iv. 50 ff).

[3] Literally "traditional lore as a fifth," *itihāsapañcama*, see Vol. 1, p. 231., where this stock description of a brāhman's attainments has already occurred, though with some minor differences. *Nirghaṇṭha*, "the indexes," here is obviously a textual error for *nighaṇṭa*, Pali *nighaṇḍa*. Neither of these two *Mhvu.* passages gives the terms in the same order as they are in the corresponding Pali formula, which, besides, includes perfection in "the science of world speculation and the knowedge of the signs of the Great Man," *lokāyatamahāpurisa-lakkhaṇesu anavayo e.g. D*. 1. 88. The *Mhvu.* would seem to be too partisan to allow these latter attainments, so characteristic of a Buddhist adept, to be shared by brāhmans.

[4] *Analpaka* "not little," "not wanting," which bears out the meaning given to the corresponding Pali term *anavayo* in *P.E.D.*, though the etymology of the latter remains doubtful.

śāstras. He was generous and charitable and lived in accordance with the path of the ten moralities. He had a young son named Dharmapāla.

Then Brahmāyus reflected: "It is time for my son Dharmapāla to study the Vedas, but it is not proper for him to do so under me. Being familiar with his father he will not study. I shall place him in a guru's household. In his hermitage in the Himalayas this brāhman, who is perfect in the Vedas, is teaching five-hundred brāhman youths to recite the Vedas. Therefore Dharmapāla, entrusted to his care,[1] will learn[2] the Vedas by heart."

Now not far from this hermitage there was a large pool of water, and in this pool dwelt a water demon[3], who time and again destroyed people bathing there. The young brāhman Dharmapāla often bathed in this pool.

The thought occurred to his tutor: "There in the pool of water dwells a water demon who often destroys men, and this Dharmapāla, the priest's son (**78**) is wont to bathe in that pool of water. Now if he should be devoured by the water demon whilst bathing there, the priest would be wroth with me and ask me why I did not keep him from the pool of water." The tutor, thereupon, called the young Dharmapāla and said to him, "Do not bathe in that pool of water, in which there dwells a cruel demon, lest you be devoured by him."

In that pool of water there also dwelt a mighty Nāga with a great retinue. And the son of that Nāga king was friendly with the young brāhman Dharmapāla, and liked talking and chatting with him. He carried the young brāhman away into the dwelling place of the Nāgas. And there the young Nāga enjoyed talking and chatting with the young brāhman, and the young brāhman Dharmapāla, in his turn, explained the path of the ten moralities.

Now a certain young brāhman of the same age as Dharmapāla, and resembling him, was going into the village by the

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[1] *Anuparītta*, past part. of *anu-pari-dā*.

[2] Senart prints the causative form *adhyāpehi*, though two MSS. have a form based on the radical. The causative is met with elsewhere in the *Mhvu.* in the sense of the primary form. For "h" in the future suffix, cf. k*āhiti*, Vol. 2, p. 41, and such Pali forms as *ehiti* from *i*, and *hehīti*, *heti*, for *bhaviṣyati*.

[3] *Rākṣasa*. See Vol. 1, p. 73, *n*. 5.

same road, and he bathed in that pool. He was killed by the water demon. His half-devoured body was seen floating on the surface of the water by another young brāhṃan. The latter returned to the hermitage and told the tutor that Dharmapāla had been devoured by the water demon. The brāhman, with all his five-hundred students, went to the pool and there saw a young brāhman's body half devoured by the water demon. When they saw him they all cried out. They dragged him out of the water, arranged a funeral pile and burnt him to ashes. The brāhman put his bones in a jar and with his whole company went to Brahmāyus in Benares. Sobbing and weeping he came to Brahmāyus and said to him, "Dharmapāla has been killed by a water demon. Here are his bones."

But Brahmāyus replied to the brāhman, "Not so. Dharmapāla was a young boy, and in our family young boys have not previously died." And the brāhman Brahmāyus addressed Dharmapāla's tutor in verses :—

(79) *None of us harms*[1] *a living soul, nor takes what is not his. None of us sins in deed or thought. We all shun what is not upright. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.*

There is never any anger among us; never are we enraged. We do not in rage vent our anger. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.

We listen to the dharma of the bad and of the good, but we take no delight in the dharma of the bad. We ignore the bad and take delight in the good.[2] *Therefore it is that none of us dies young.*

Again and again we give numerous gifts, and a beggar is never unwelcome to us. And when we have given our gifts, we do not regret them. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.

[1] The first three verbs are 3rd person optative singular, literally, "one should not harm, etc.," *i.e.* "it is *our* rule that no one should harm," for with the fourth verb we come to the 1st person plural.

[2] Reading *asatāṃ hitvā satāṃ rocayāma*: for *asatāṃ hi tvasatāṃ rocayāma*: It is strange that Senart should not have thought of this emendation, for it requires but a new joining of syllables, *hitvā* for *hi tu-asa.*" He is forced to translate his text by "car aux méchants nous ne disons que ce qui convient aux méchants!" *J.* 4. 53, has *hitvā asante na jahāma sante.*

As for the brāhmans and recluses[1] *who come begging and crying to us, we are glad to hear and see them. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.*

The brahmans and virtuous recluses (80) *who come to us begging and crying, we satisfy with food and drink. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.*

We satisfy with food and drink those who come begging to us, the blind, the helpless, the poor and the destitute. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.

We do not desert our wives, nor do our wives desert us. And so we live the chaste life.[2] *Therefore it is that none of us dies young.*

Everyone of us who is born becomes virtuous, self-controlled, devout and pious ; he becomes learned and perfect in his knowledge of the verses. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.

Mother and father, sister and brother, and loyal[3] *kinsman, we live in accordance with dharma for the sake of winning heaven. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.*

Mother and father, sister and brother, and those who are our household servants, we all live in accordance with dharma, with our gaze on heaven. Therefore it is that none of us dies young.

For verily dharma protects him who lives by dharma, (81) *as a large umbrella protects us in time of rain. This blessing comes from dharma well-practised. He who practises dharma does not pass to bourne of ill.*

He who does not practise dharma is an indolent fellow. As for the bourne to which he goes who practises what is not dharma, the sin[4] *he commits destroys him as does a black snake which he has grasped with his hands. For dharma and what is not dharma do not bear similar fruit. What is not dharma leads to hell. Dharma wins the heavenly bourne.*

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[1] Reading *śramaṇa* for *śravaṇa* of the text, which may be a copyist's error due to the proximity of *śravaṇa*, "hearing" in the next pāda but one.

[2] *Dharmacarya*, here for the usual *brahmacarya*. On the identity of Brahmā and dhamma (dharma) see Miss I. B. Horner's article *Early Buddhist Dhamma* in *Artibus Asiae*, xi, pp. 115 ff.

[3] Literally "not siding with others," *ananyapakṣika*.

[4] *Adharma*, "non-dharma."

Verily dharma protects him who lives by dharma, as a large umbrella protects us in time of rain. My Dharmapāla was guarded by dharma. These are the bones of another. It is well with my boy.

The brāhman and his company were fed, and then dismissed, by the brāhman Brahmāyus. He returned to his hermitage and there he saw the young Dharmapāla. And they all marvelled that the priest should be so certain.[1]

The Exalted One said, " It may be again, monks, that you will think that the brāhman named Brahmāyus at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the brāhman named Brahmāyus. Again, monks, it may be that you will think that the son of the brāhman Brahmāyus at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. Rāhula here at that time and on that occasion (**82**) was the son of Brahmāyus, named Dharmapāla. Then, too, was I certain of Dharmapāla's safety, just as on this other occasion I was certain that I had the long-lost fist of the Śākyans.[2]

Here ends the Dharmapāla-Jātaka.

THE ARROW THAT WAS SHOT FAR

The monks said to the Exalted One, " The arrow of the Exalted One was shot far." The Exalted One replied, " Monks, that was not the first occasion on which I shot an arrow thus far." "Was there another occasion, Lord ? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the land of Kāśi, there ruled a king, who was powerful, wealthy, rich in beasts of burden, virtuous and majestic. His realm was extensive, for his sway extended as far as

[1] Literally " that it should be known," *jñātam*.

[2] Literally, " Dharmapāla was known by me . . . just as the long-lost fist . . . was known . . . " The comparison is between Brahmāyus' certainty of knowledge about Dharmapāla's safety and the Buddha's certainty that he could draw upon the native and inherited skill of the Śākyans. Cf. *n*. 1. p. 74.

Takṣaśilā.[1] Having established his younger brother on the throne he left Benares and came to Takṣaśilā and abode there.

Now Benares was besieged by another king with an army of the four divisions.[2] The brother sent a message to Takṣaśilā to say "Come hither, I am beset by a hostile army." When the king who was staying at Takṣaśilā heard this from the mouth of the messenger, he wrote on a piece of birch-bark the name of the king by whom Benares was besieged. He wound the bark round the shaft of an arrow, making it fast with some thread. He then shot the arrow towards Benares. It fell at the feet of the (invading) king and shattered his footstool.[3]

That king was amazed at such a man. "Look at his prowess," said he, "and the range of his fist.[4] For, being at Benares, he shot an arrow which came thus far and fell at my feet on the footstool, though I was not hit." Then he removed the birch-bark containing the message[5] and on it was written: (83)

Here I am at Benares, and yet your footstool is in pieces.
If you do not want to die, withdraw[6] from my kingdom.

That king, thereupon, became still more frightened and terrified. "I know," said he, "that this arrow did not come[7] from Benares. That is why I am amazed. It was shot by one standing in Takṣaśilā." And on that very spot he made a shrine for the divine arrow.[8] In it he set up the arrow and worshipped and honoured it. Then he went his way.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king of Kāśi by whom that arrow was shot from Takṣaśilā was somebody

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[1] Pali Takkasilā, "the capital of Gandhāra. It is frequently mentioned as a centre of education, especially in the Jātakas." (*D.P.N.*)

[2] Literally "four-limbed (*caturanga*) army," *i.e.*, infantry, cavalry, charioteers, and warriors on elephants. For a definition of the four divisions see *V.* 4. 105.

[3] Literally "foot-board," *pādaphalaka*.

[4] *Muṣṭisambandha*.

[5] Literally, "the birch-bark which had been made to speak," *bhūrjaṃ vācitaṃ*.

[6] *Osakka*, cf. Pali *osakkati* = "*o* + *sakkati* "surround," from Pali *sakk* = *Sk. *ṣvaṣk*, cf. Māgadhi *osakkai*; but sometimes, as here, confused with *sṛp.*, cf. Pali *osappati* and Sk. *apasarpati*." (*P.E.D.*, *s.v.*).

[7] The text has no negative, *na*, but the sense demands one.

[8] *Devaśara*.

else. Verily, you must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was that king of Kāśi. Then too did I shoot an arrow far, just as I did on this other occasion."

Here ends the Śarakṣepa-Jātaka.[1]

AMARĀ

The monks said to the Exalted One, "It was by means of his skill that the Exalted One won Yaśodharā." The Exalted One replied, "This was not the first occasion on which I won Yaśodharā by means of my skill. There was another occasion also." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once on a time, monks, long ago, there was a village half a *yojana*[2] from Mithilā[3] called Yavakacchaka. Just outside Yavakacchaka was a smiths' village. The daughter of the head smith there, named Amarā, was amiable, comely, clever and of ready speech. The son of the overseer of Yavakacchaka, named Mahauṣadha, was amiable, comely, virtuous and of great power. As he was crossing a field in the country he saw the smith's daughter walking along and carrying some food. **(84)** Mahauṣadha asked her, "Lady, I pray you, who are you? What is your name?" Amarā replied, "My name is where the Tathāgata is."[4] Mahauṣadha asked, "Lady, who are your parents[5]?" She replied, "Those who . . ."[6] Mahauṣadha asked, "Lady, where are you

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[1] This Jātaka closely resembles the last part of the *Asadisa Jātaka* in *J.* 2. 86 ff.

[2] See Vol. I, p. 7, *n.* 3.

[3] See Vol. I, p. 239, *n.* 2.

[4] *I.e.* "the home of the immortals." *Amarā.* Cf. the riddle in *J.* 6. 364, *sāmi aham atītānāgate va etarahi va yaṃ n'atthi taṃnāmika,* "my name is that which neither is, nor was, nor ever shall be," which Mahosadha interprets by replying, *loke amaram nānu n'atthi, tvaṃ Amarā nāma bhavissasīti,* "there is nothing in the world immortal, and your name must be Amarā."

[5] Literally "whose are you?" *Keṣāṃ tvaṃ?*

[6] The text here is very corrupt. It reads *yehi oṣiṇo teṣāṃ ahaṃ,* "I belong to those by whom *oṣiṇo*". Senart can make no sense out of this last word, and there is nothing in the *apparatus criticus* which could suggest a conjecture. It obviously hides an expression which enigmatically describes the occupation of a smith, for, as the verse passage immediately below shows, it is from this reply that Mahauṣadha deduces that Amarā was a smith's daughter,

going ?" She replied, "I am going . . ."[1] Mahauṣadha asked, "In what direction, lady ?" She replied. . . ."[2]

Then the extremely clever Mahauṣadha addressed Amarā the smith's daughter in a verse :

Surely Amarā is your name, and you are a smith's daughter. In my mind I know[3] *the truth, your home is to the south.*

Now this young girl had her head and two eyes, all three of them, well smeared with ointment. Her clothes were spruce, and in her hand she had a pot containing a little rice-gruel.

Then the extremely clever Mahauṣadha addressed Amarā, the smith's daughter, in a verse :

Why is your head and why are your eyes so well smeared with ointment ? Why are your clothes so spruce ? And why have you so little rice-gruel ?

And Amarā, the smith's daughter replied to the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse :

My head is well oiled and the ointment glistens, my

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[1] This passage again is corrupt, for the text, *yacchatraṃ tana gacchāmi*, makes no sense. One MS. reads *yavacchakam* which may be a corruption of *Yavakacchaka*, *i.e.* "I am going to Y." But this sounds too straightforward a reply among the other riddles, though there need not be a riddle in this particular reply. In the verse following Mahauṣadha draws three conclusions from Amarā's replies, namely, as to the girl's name, her father's occupation and the direction in which her home lies. For the text we may therefore read *yena kṣetraṃ tena gacchāmi*, "I am going to the field" *sc.* our field, or home. The next question, then, *kahiṃgami* "whither going ?" *i.e.* in what direction, draws out the enigmatic reply *saṃśritāyāṃtaṃ tahiṃgami*. Unfortunately, the first of these two words is hopelessly corrupt, but, from Mahauṣadha's interpretation of the reply in the verse, *kṣetraṃ vo dakṣiṇādiśi*, "Your home is to the south or right," it must conceal some expression which could be interpreted in such a sense. Cf. below p. 83.

The difficulties in the text of this story are probably due to the fact that it is based on two separate Jātakas. The theme as a whole is that of Jātaka 387 (*J*. 3. 281 ff), where, however, both the Bodhisattva and his bride-to-be are unnamed. Mahauṣadha and Amarā appear by name in an episode in Jātaka 546 (*J*. 6. 364 ff.), but there Mahauṣadha assumes the guise of a tailor, and Amarā is the daughter of an impoverished merchant turned ploughman. This latter circumstance may give plausibility to the emendation suggested above *yena kṣetraṃ tena gacchāmi*.

[2] See preceding note.

[3] Reading *prajānāmi* for *prajānāsi*.

clothes are spruce, and the rice-gruel is little, because there has been no rain.[1]

Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha addressed Amarā, the smith's daughter, in a verse:

If now your oil and ointment are glistening[2] *and your clothes are festive, yet other*[3] *people have had rain.*

(85) Now the smith's daughter was carrying a pot of soup for food, hiding it from the rain under her white cloak.[4] And the wise Mahauṣadha addressed Amarā, the smith's daughter, in a verse:

As for the pot of food you carry protected beneath your white cloak, I ask you, sweet lady Amarā[5], *for whom are you carrying it?*

Then, monks, Amarā, the smith's daughter, replied to the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse[6]:

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[1] The translation here is tentative only as the text is very corrupt. Not only is the first pāda incomplete, *sutailā . . . śīṣaṃ* (which, after Senart's suggestion, has been completed into *sutailāñjitaṃ śīrṣaṃ*), but the exact significance of *lāsaka* is uncertain. This word is Senart's conjecture for *alāsanam* of the MSS. He, however, gives it the sense of "moving quickly," *i.e.*, "soon disappearing." But, *las*, the stem of which it is a derivative, means primarily "to flash," "glitter," "shine," etc. Hence the translation "glistens."

The end of the verse, *dhvāgū kṣudrā canodako* (read *nodakaṃ*), has been interpreted on the analogy of Amarā's reply to Mahosadha in *J.* 6. 364, "*Kiṃ bhadde atibahalā yāgū'ti,*" "*udakaṃ no laddhaṃ sāmīti,*" "*Kedārehi udakaṃ no laddhaṃ bhavissati maññe ti,*" "Why, madam, your gruel is very thick" (*i.e.*, after the story, she had not enough water after giving some to Mahosadha to wash his hands. *J. trans.* 6, p. 183 is wrong in translating "there is very little [*atibahala*] rice here.") "We got no water, master." "You mean, madam, when your field was in growth you got no water on it." The meaning of the verse in our text is thus taken to be that Amarā's head and eyes were glistening and her clothes spruce, because they had not been marred by water, *i.e.* rain, the lack of which explained also the scantiness of the rice, or, alternatively, the thickness of the gruel.

[2] Reading *lāsakā* for *lolikā* of the text.

[3] Reading, with Senart, *anye* for *alpe*. Even so the point is not clear.

[4] This is obviously from another story or from another recension of the previous one. We are definitely told on p. 84 that Amarā was carrying not soup but rice-gruel in her hand; and there is no question of hiding it from the rain. In the subsequent colloquy Mahauṣadha's question and Amarā's enigmatic replies follow pretty much the same pattern as those in the first version.

[5] Text *abhare* (*sic*).

[6] The text here again is hopelessly corrupt and Senart does not attempt a restoration. A passage would seem to be missing also, in the MSS. Mahauṣadha's question is about the person to whom Amarā is carrying the food. The *apparatus criticus*, however, contains nothing which would seem to be part of an answer to this question. It hints rather at an enigmatic reply given by Amarā in answer to a question about the ages of different members of her family. And the next words of Mahauṣadha are a solution of her riddle.

Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha replied to Amarā, the smith's daughter, in a verse:

Your father is thirty years old, your grandfather is . . .,[1] *and you are ten years of age. Thus, my girl, do I gather.*

Mahauṣadha asked:

Where is he gone, Amarā, at whose absence your mother is unhappy and disconsolate, and is seeking him high and low?

Then, monks, Amarā, the smith's daughter, replied to the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse:

Where the dead breathe, and the burnt is burned again, and kin is struck by kin, thither is my father gone.

(86) Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha replied to Amarā' the smith's daughter, in a verse:

The smith's bellows blow,[2] *the coals glow again, metal is struck by metal—your father is gone to his smithy.*

I pray you, lady, tell me the safe, the true, the straight and the easy way, and I shall go to Yavakacchaka.

Then, monks, the smith's daughter replied to the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse:

Where the meal and the gruel[3] *are, and the twin-leafed Judas trees.*[4] *Go*[5] *by the hand wherewith I eat, not by the hand wherewith I eat not.*[6]

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[1] *Nelāyako,* an unknown word, but possibly representing a corruption of a compound ending in *-āyuko,* "aged."

[2] *Śvasanti,* the same word as for "breathe" above.

[3] Senart prints *saptābhirangā,* but has to say that *abhiranga* is a word unknown to him. On the basis of Amarā's riddle in *J.* 6. 365, however, it would seem justifiable to amend our text into *yena śaktū viḍangā* which would correspond exactly to the Pali *yena sattu bilangā.* The *Commentary* explains *sattu* by *sattuāpaṇaṃ* and *kanjiyāpaṇaṃ,* "cake-shop" and "gruel-shop." *Viḍanga* is the plant *Embelia ribes,* or we may read *vilanga,* the plant *Erycibe panniculatā,* either of which forms, according to the *P.E.D.,* may be the origin of the Pali *bilangā,* "sour gruel."

[4] *Palāśa,* "Butea frondosa."

[5] Reading *vrajasi* for *vrajesi.*

[6] Senart's text is *yena aśeśi na tena vrajesi na tena aśesi.* He says of *aśeśi* (*aśesi*) that it is obviously corrupt. It obviously hides, however, some form of *aś* "to eat." Cf. the corresponding Pali at *J.* 6. 365 *Yenādāmi* from *ad,* "to eat." The translation has, therefore, been made on the tentative restoration of the line into *yena aśnāmi tena vrajasi na yena na aśnāmi.*

This is the way to Yavakacchaka; if you are clever find it.[1]

Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha replied to Amarā, the smith's daughter, in verse:

Where the sparse[2] *barley grows and the ebony tree*[3] *is in bloom, this*[4] *way I'll take and go to Yavakacchaka.*

Then, monks, Amarā, the smith's daughter, replied to the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse:

Go, brāhman, along that way, there you will eat food.[5] *Sons thrive on their fathers; you will eat of their flesh.*

Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha replied to Amarā, the smith's daughter in verse:

The shoots thrive on the bamboo though it is but dry wood. I shall eat of their flesh. Thus I'll go to your house.[6]

(87) Then, monks, Amarā, the smith's daughter, addressed the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse:

Stay, brāhman, since there will be a sacrifice going on in our house. My mother will be offering a great sacrifice to the king of devas.[7]

Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha addressed Amarā, the smith's daughter, in a verse:

Whatever sacrifice your mother will be performing to the king of devas, I shall take part in it. And so I'll go to your house.

Then, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha asked her parents to

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[1] Translated as part of the verse on the analogy of the corresponding Pali.

[2] Or "wild," *kadāhkyā*, "having a bad name."

[3] Kovidāra = *Koviḷāra, Bauhinia variegata,* also one of the trees in heaven. See Vol. 1, p. 27.

[4] Reading *imam* for *vāmam,* as Senart suggests. Amarā's directions both here and on p. 84 point to the right, not to the left (*vāma*).

[5] Reading *bhaktam* for *bhakto.*

[6] Senart is satisfied that the text is correct here, but the sense is obscure. The comparison of the bamboo and its shoots to a father and his son is clear. Perhaps, the idea is that Amarā directs Mahauṣadha to the exact spot by enigmatically referring to a bamboo growing there.

[7] *I.e.* Indra. Note the strange use of the instrumental *devarājena* to denote the recipient of the sacrifice. In the next verse we have the regular genitive *devarājasya.*

give him Amarā, the smith's daughter, to wife. But Amarā's parents replied, "We shall not give our girl to one who is not a smith."

Now, monks, the wise Mahauṣadha was perfectly skilled in all the crafts. And he asked himself, "What is the most delicate piece of work that smiths do? Why, needles. The smith who can make needles is a master craftsman." So Mahauṣadha made needles and enclosed them in a sheath. In the one sheath seven needles were enclosed. And all the eight needles were only one needle.[1] And that one needle was really eight needles.

Mahauṣadha took the needle to the smiths' village to offer it for sale. Coming to the streets he called out, "Needles to sell! Who'll buy?"

Flawless,[2] well-made, sharp of point, and smooth[3] needles do I sell in the village of the smiths. Buy of me.

(88) When the girl heard Mahauṣadha's cry she ran out, and addressed him in a verse:

Knives are made here, and arrows and lances. Needles as well[4] are made here, and fish-hooks too.

You are drunk, fellow, or else out of your mind, if you wish to sell needles in a village of smiths.

Then the wise Mahauṣadha addressed Amarā, the smith's daughter, in a verse:

It needs a skilful man to sell needles in a village of smiths, for master craftsmen know when a job is well or badly done.

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[1] *I.e.*, so fine were the needles that the sheath containing them was fine enough to form a needle itself.

[2] ? *nikkaṭṭakacchā*. Senart explains by saying that *kaccha* denotes some kind of flaw, while *nikkaṭṭa* is from *niṣ-kṛiṣ*, "to draw out." This is highly problematical. The corresponding adjective in *J.* (3. 282) is *akakkasa* "smooth," *i.e. a-karkaśa* "not rough" (see *P.E.D.* and *J. trans.* p. 178). But the Commentary's gloss—*paṭalassa vā tilakassa vā odhino vā abhāvena*, would seem to make "flawless" a better translation of the Pali. It is only with diffidence, however, that it is suggested that *nikkaṭṭakaccha* in our text conceals some compound of *karkaśa*.

[3] ? *vaṭṭayāsika*. Senart is doubtful of the reading and ignorant of the sense of the last part of this compound. It is interesting to note, however, that the Commentary glosses *apharusam*, the corresponding term in *J.*, by *vaṭṭatāya*.

[4] Reading *iha eva dāni*, (= *idāni*) for — *tāni* of the text.

If, lady, your father knew that these needles were made by me, he would invite me to take you[1] *and all that is in your father's house.*[2]

Then, monks, Amarā, the smith's daughter, addressed her father in a verse:

Listen, father, to what this skilled man is saying. He is a smith's son, an adroit and clever maker of needles.

Then, monks, the father of Amarā, the smith's daughter, when he saw the needle, was amazed. He took his daughter with him and addressed the wise Mahauṣadha in a verse:

Never have I heard of, never have I seen such needles. I am well pleased with your work, and I give you this girl of mine.

(89) The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the wise Mahauṣadha was somebody else. You must not think so. Why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was he who was named Mahauṣadha. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the head man of the smiths' village was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why? This Śākyan here, Mahānāma, was at that time and on that occasion the head man of the smiths' village. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the village smith's daughter named Amarā was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Yaśodharā here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the smith's daughter. Then also did I win her by my skill just as I have done on this occasion.

Here ends the Jātaka of Amarā the smith's daughter.

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[1] Reading *tvayā ca me pravāreya* for *svayaṃ va me pra°*, "he would present me with you" or "invite me to take you." *J.*3. 284 has *tayā ca maṃ nimanteyya.* (*Nimanteti* "to invite," with instrumental of the object to which one is invited.) For this use of *pravāreti, pravārayati* = *nimanteti*, see *P.E.D. s.v.*, where the present instance and that at I. 348 (text) are to be added to the BSk. citations.

[2] The reading here is suspect. Senart prints *prattaṃ te ca pitu varaṃ*, and translates "ton voeu serait accordé par ton père." To this it may be objected that *pitu* is genitive or dative, and, also, that the only wish alluded to in the story so far is that of Mahauṣadha to gain Amarā. Two MSS. read for *prattam*, *paṃca*, which would seem to be a remnant of the traditional text as preserved in *J.* 3. 284, *Yañ c'atth' aññaṃ ghare dhanaṃ ti.* On this analogy Senart's text has been emended to *yaṃ te ca pitu ghare.*

ŚIRI

The monks said to the Exalted One, " It was by using his energy that the Exalted One won Yaśodharā." The Exalted One replied, " Monks, this was not the first occasion on which I won Yaśodharā by using my energy. I did so on another occasion." The monks asked, " Was there another occasion Lord ? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Vāravāli[1] there dwelt a brāhman who was master of the three Vedas, the indexes, the ritual, and the fifth branch of study, that is, traditional lore, and skilled in phonology, etymology and grammar[2]. As a teacher of the Brāhmaṇas and Vedas he taught the Vedas and mantras to five hundred young brāhmans. This brāhman had a daughter named Śiri, who was amiable, beautiful and endowed with perfect and pleasant beauty of complexion.

(90) Now this brāhman, who was a preceptor,[3] received a message from one who was having a sacrifice performed in a town beyond the sea. " Come yourself," said the message, " or send someone. I'll requite you."

The brāhman asked his five hundred pupils, " Who of you will venture to go to a town beyond the sea, to a certain merchant there ? To him who will go I shall give my daughter Śirikā."

There was a young brāhman there who was clever, active and energetic, and he was deeply in love with Śiri. He was ready to venture, and said " Master, I will go." And when the master had given him a letter he went on board a ship and departed.

In due time he reached the town beyond the sea, and handed the letter to the merchant. When the merchant had read the master's letter he gave the young man precious stones, gold and silver, and dismissed him. The latter left

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[1] ? Not mentioned in Pali texts.

[2] For these terms, see above p. 74.

[3] The text has *tasya brāhmaṇasya . . . tasya uṣādhyāyasya* (*sic* for *upā°*) —a clumsy separation of two expressions denoting the same person. Perhaps the text is defective.

the town beyond the sea as soon as he could and embarked on a ship for Vāravāli. In due time he arrived there. When he was about to step from the ship on to a landing boat,[1] in the crush his parcel fell into the sea.

The young brāhman reflected, "After I have with so much effort brought this parcel from that town beyond the sea, it falls into the sea as I am stepping on board the landing boat. By what means can I recover this prize? There is no other means but for me to drain the sea." He took a large copper bucket,[2] and came to the sea-shore. He let down the bucket at the edge of the sea and tucked up his tunic at the waist.

Some devas of the sea disguised as brāhmans came on the scene and asked, "What is this for?" The young brāhman replied, "I am going to drain (**91**) the sea." The brāhmans replied, "The sea can not be drained."

The young brāhman said:

> *"Days and nights are long, O Brahmā devas,[3] and this bucket is big. For a skilful and diligent man, Śiri is not hard to win."*

> *List to the tale of the energy of the Best of Men,[4] his power, his fortitude, and his enterprise, when as a brāhman youth in a former life he crossed the sea to win this prize.*
>
> *Then when his treasure was lost and he was about to drain the ocean dry,[5] [he prayed to the devas of the sea]. "Do all ye can," [said he], "that I may recover my treasure. Be not heedless, lest you come to harm."[6]*
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> *The Suvarṇa[7] devas, Asuras, Yakṣas and Rākṣasas and all beings that dwelt in the sea were terrified, so that the heaped up waters gave forth a loud roar and shout.*
>
> *Then a female devā emerged in terror from the sea and*

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[1] *Pratināva*, a word otherwise unknown, but the context implies that it means a small boat used for landing from a big ship.

[2] *Vaddhaka*, but there is neither in Sk. nor in Pali another instance of this word in this sense. It is to be noted, however, that *M.W.* gives as one of the meanings of *vardhanī* (from the same stem *vṛidh*) that of "water-jar of particular shape." On the next page the form used is *vardha*.

[3] *Brahmā*, vocative pl. of *brahmā* = a brahmā deva.

[4] *I.e.* the Bodhisattva.

[5] Literally "and he said "I will drain," etc.

[6] *I.e.*, they would suffer if, to recover his treasure, he would have to drain off the watery element in which their home was.

[7] See Vol. I, p. 165, *n.* 2.

looked about her in all directions. And she saw a young brāhman daring to drain and exhaust the ocean.

She came out of the water and standing before him asked, "Young man, what do you seek from the sea? (92) *Tell us, and we shall give it to you, lest we suffer misfortune and be destroyed."*[1]

"O devā," said he, "I have lost my treasure here, and I am searching for it in the sea. I am trying to recover it by drawing off the water. For that purpose I would drain all the great ocean."

"Many foolish men live in the world who are utterly confused as to what is good and right. As for you, young man, how can you be fully intelligent when you seek a thing so hard to find in the world?

"If eighty-four pūgas[2] *of water were withdrawn it would make no perceptible difference.*[3] *Below the surface there is endless water.*[4] *How can you drain it all away?*

"Many streams flow into the ocean and ceaseless rain falls upon it. The ocean is the home of mighty beings.[5] *How can the law*[6] *be annulled?*[7]

"You who in your folly commit this wrongful act ere long will be distressed in limb. You cannot drain the ocean as though it were a pool. Young man, this deed does not become you."

(93) *"O devā, I know the reason why you upbraid and admonish me. If the ocean were effaced it would no longer scoop out a channel for its stream nor uproot trees. No*

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[1] Reading *vihanyamānās* pl., instead of °*mānas*, sg.

[2] *Pūga*, "mass," "quantity" can also be used of a "volume," as of water. *B.R.* cites *varṣapūga* "Regenmenge." 84 is one of many symbolic figures for an indefinite or infinite number.

[3] Literally, "it is not known by this," *na tena jñāyati*.

[4] The text here reads *anantapāṇī*, which Senart interprets as "des êtres vivants sans nombre." *Pāṇin* is Pali from *pāṇa* = Sk. *prāṇa*. But *anantā* does not ordinarily connote "number" except with a noun of multitude, and *anantapāṇin* would more naturally mean "having endless life," or in the plural, as here, "those having endless life." *Pāṇī* has, therefore, been emended into *pāna* "drink" = "water." The sense then is that the expanse of water visible on the surface is large enough, but it is nothing to the volume of the water beneath the surface.

[5] Cf. *V.* 2. 238, *A.* 4. 199, *Udāna* 53-44.

[6] *Dharmaśāstra*, the law, namely, against taking life.

[7] *Utsaryati*, so explained by Senart, who, however, makes no comment on the strangeness of the form of this word. We should expect *utsāryati*—causal passive with parasmai suffix.

longer would there be an obstacle against reaching the shore beyond.[1]

"I shall not from indolence abandon my treasure. Having won the prize I shall not abate the energy wherewith I won it. Let the beings of the sea do this my bidding. This and nothing else I would declare.[2] *I would not desist even before a raging fire; I would overturn the earth and moon and stars."*

The devas then reflected, "We must restore this treasure to the young man lest he drain the whole ocean. Here, take this precious treasure, and depart, young man, as one who has made a prosperous journey."[3]

Always do the energetic have success in life, but adversity is the lot of the lazy. And the young man by virtue of his energy went his way in possession of his prize.

The Exalted One, the Master, calling to mind a former abode and a former life related this jātaka to his monks.

After a discussion of the skandhas, *the* dhātus, *the* āyatanas *and the* ātman,[4] *the Exalted One explained the meaning of this jātaka.*

(94) *When of yore I lived in one of my existences which have neither beginning nor end,*[5] *then was I the young brāhman and Yaśodharā was Śiri. Thus understand its meaning, thus bear this jātaka in mind.*

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[1] The whole stanza is rather obscure. The text, however, seems to be in order, except that we should read *chinnasāgaro* for *°sāgaraṃ*.

[2] ? *Tathā bhaṇeyaṃ na tathā bhaṇeyaṃ* "I would say this, I would not say that." But the reading may be suspected.

[3] Literally "whose ship has been successful," *siddhayānapatro*.

[4] *I.e.*, respectively, "sensory elements," "bodily or physical elements," "elements of sense-perception" and "self" or "soul."

[5] *Anavarāgrasmiṃ saṃsāre.* The adjective *anavarāgra* as an epithet of *saṃsāra* occurs several times in the *Mhvu.* (1. 34; 2. 94, 237; 3. 67, 273) and also at *Divy.* 197. The *P.E.D.*, which cites the last only as a BSk. instance, describes the word as a wrong Sanskritisation of Pali *anamatagga.* The derivation of the Pali word is uncertain, and the *P.E.D.* bases its definition of it on the usage, namely, "whose beginning and end are alike unthinkable" (*ana-mat* (from *man*) *-agga*). The coiners of the BSk. form also would seem to have the same idea of the meaning of *anamatagga* (if, that is, they were working from that form), for *anavarāgra* literally means "without a bottom (beginning) or top (end)." Mrs. Rhys Davids at *K.S.* 2. 118 renders the Pali as "incalculable is the beginning," which may suit the context when the *saṃsāra* of the Buddha is alluded to, but is hardly correct etymologically.

And so the Exalted One, rid of old age, of fear and of grief, told the story of his former life to his monks, of his infinite tribulation, of his faring up and down in times long past.

The Exalted One said, " It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the young brāhman whose treasure fell into the sea was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was that young brāhman. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the young daughter of the brāhman in the city of Vāravāli was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why ? Yaśodharā here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the daughter of the brāhman in the city of Vāravāli who was named Śiri. Then too was she won by me through my energy, just as on this other occasion she has been won."

Here ends the Jātaka of Śiri.

THE KINNARĪ

The monks said to the Exalted One, " Yaśodharā was won by the Exalted One after much fatigue."[1] The Exalted One replied, " This was not the first occasion that I won Yaśodharā after much fatigue. There was another occasion also on which she was won by me after great fatigue, great patience and great exertion." The monks asked, " Was there another occasion, Lord ? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in Hastināpura[2] there reigned a king named Subāhu. He was virtuous, majestic, powerful, wealthy, with many beasts of burden, and was lord over sixty-thousand cities. (95) He had one son, a boy named Sudhanu who was amiable, beautiful, comely, virtuous,

[1] Literally " by fatigue," *khedena.*
[2] Hathinipura in Pali. This city is famous as being the home of the leading figures in the epic *Mahābhārata*

distinguished, accomplished and dutiful to his mother and father. He had been appointed heir to the throne by his father Subāhu, and with the ministers he supervised the government of his father's thousands of cities.

King Subāhu, relinquishing the burden of his kingly duties, resorted to the pleasant terrace of his palace and sat down to take his ease. Now King Subāhu had as neighbour a king named Sucandrima, who was of the same age as he, and with whom he had close associations. This king ruled in Siṃhapura,[1] and he was virtuous, majestic, powerful, and wealthy, possessing many beasts of burden.

King Sucandrima was making preparations for a great sacrifice. He said, "I shall offer a sacrifice with every kind of animal." He issued orders to all the hunters in his domain, saying, "I shall offer a sacrifice with every kind of animal. So bring together all living things that live on land, those without feet, those with two, those with four and those with many." He gave instructions to the fishermen[2] also, bidding them supply all living things that lived in the water.

The wishes of devas are fulfilled by their thoughts, those of kings by the word of command, those of rich men are speedily fulfilled, and those of the poor are fulfilled by their labours.[3]

At the king's word of command the hunters and fishermen brought together all living things on land and in the water.

They constructed a large enclosure in which they shut in all the land animals. They collected the fishes and confined them in a tank. Every kind of living thing was there, except that there was no Kinnarī.[4]

And when the sacrificial enclosure[5] of King Sucandrima had been put in readiness with all things necessary, the king

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[1] Three towns of this name (i.e. Sīhapura) are named in the Pali texts (see *D.P.N.*). That in our text, would appear to be the one situated in Lāla (modern Gujarāt) to the north of Kalinga.

[2] *Niṣāda*, properly, the name of aboriginal Indian tribes described as fishermen, hunters, and robbers, and considered a very low caste. In *J.* 4. 364, *nisāda* is "robber."

[3] This stanza has occurred at 1. 258, (text) *q.v.*

[4] *I.e.* a female Kinnara, see Vol. 1, p. 54 *n.* 1.

[5] *Yajñavāṭa.* In Pali this takes the form *yañña-āvāṭa*, "sacrificial pit," although *J.* 6. 215 has *yaññavāṭa*, and Kern, *Toev.*, suggests that this latter form should be read in all instances. (See *P.E.D.*, *s.v.*).

bathed his head, took off his clothes and went naked to the upper terrace. There with the incense of sweet-smelling flowers he offered worship. With joined hands raised he bowed to the four quarters and said, (96) " I invite to the sacrificial enclosure all seers of the Exalted One who are masters of the four meditations, of the five branches of the higher knowledge, who are great in magic and can travel through the air, wherever they may be, in the east, south, west or north."

Then all the seers who had achieved the four meditations, were masters of the five branches of the higher knowledge, were great in magic and had great power, paid heed to the summons and by their magic power came to the sacred enclosure flying through the air. And King Sucandrima, seeing these seers come to the sacrificial enclosure, in his joy and gladness and satisfaction bowed at their feet and said to them, " Let your lordships survey the sacrificial enclosure and see if it is complete or not." The seers did so, and said to the king, " Your majesty, the sacrificial enclosure is entirely complete, except for one thing lacking." The king asked, " What is lacking ? " The seers replied, " Sire, it lacks a Kinnarī."

Then King Sucandrima said to the hunters, " These worthy seers say that the sacrificial enclosure lacks a Kinnarī. So go, and make every effort to bring me a Kinnarī." And the hunter who was pre-eminent among the thousands of hunters for energy, strength and courage was urged by the whole crowd of hunters. " You," said they, " are competent, and you can bring back a Kinnarī." And that hunter, thus urged by the other hunters and by King Sucandrima, took his bow and quiver of arrows and went up into the Himalayas.

There in the Himalayas he saw a seer's pleasant retreat, which was well supplied with roots, leaves and fruits.

He approached the seer, bowed at his feet and remained standing. The seer bid him welcome, saying, " You are welcome. Pray sit down on this couch." The seer talked pleasantly[1] to the hunter, and, as was the custom of seers, offered him fruit and water. And the hunter ate the fruit, drank the water and sat down.

[1] *Sārāyaṇīyaṃ kṛitaṃ*, see Vol. 1, p. 253, *n*. 4.

While he was in the seer's presence the hunter heard such sweet singing as he had never heard before. He asked the seer, "Sir, whose is this pleasant song? (97) Is it that of one of the deva or Nāga maidens?" The seer replied, "This is not the singing of deva maidens nor of Nāga maidens, but of the Kinnarīs."

Then the hunter questioned the seer, "Sir," said he, "I hear the singing, but I do not see the singers. Where are they singing?" The seer replied, "On the northern side of this retreat there is a large lotus-pond where there are at all seasons sweet smelling lotuses of every colour.[1] Thither the daughter of Druma, king of the Kinnaras, named Manoharā, is wont to go from mount Kailāsa to disport at the lotus-pond, accompanied by many Kinnaras and Kinnarīs."

The astute hunter artfully questioned the seer. "Sir," said he, "I have heard that there are some human beings who play and disport with the Kinnarīs. How have the Kinnarīs got into the power of those humans?" The seer replied, "They are bound by a spell,[2] and they cannot disappear." The good-natured seer told all this thoughtlessly, and he did not suspect that the hunter was after a Kinnarī.

Then the hunter having saluted the seer proceeded to the lotus-pond where the daughter of Druma, king of the Kinnaras, was disporting. And the Kinnarīs, being absorbed in their singing and playing of the pipes, did not observe the hunter. Manoharā was outstanding there for beauty and voice. Standing near enough for her to hear him the hunter bound Manoharā with this spell:

> *You are the glorious daughter of King Druma, king of the Kinnaras. By this spell stand still; you are bound, Kinnarī.*
>
> *As you are the daughter of King Druma, brought up by King Druma, by this spell, good Manoharā, do not move a step.*

Thus Manoharā was caught by the hunter by means of a

[1] The text names them, *utphala kumuda*, etc.

[2] Literally, "by truth-speaking," *satyavākyena*, the spell here consisting, as appears immediately below, in calling upon a *Kinnarī* by her right name. This, of course, is a commonplace of fairy mythology.

spell, and she had not the power of disappearing. But the other Kinnaras and Kinnarīs all disappeared.

(98) The hunter took Manoharā to Siṃhapura, where she was put in the sacrificial enclosure. When King Sucandrima as well as the large crowd, saw the Kinnarī, he was well pleased with the hunter, who received a rich reward.[1]

Bound in fetters Manoharā was thus led to Sucandrima's city of Siṃhapura, which was become a city of brāhmans,[2] and taken to the sacrificial enclosure.

When King Sucandrima had got everything completely ready for the sacrifice, he sent a messenger to King Subāhu at Hastināpura, saying, "I am performing a great sacrifice with every kind of animal. Come and enjoy yourself." King Subāhu, however, sent his son, saying to him, "Go to Siṃhapura. King Sucandrima is going to perform a great sacrifice. Go and enjoy it."

Prince Sudhanu came to Siṃhapura, as well as several hundred other kings. Among them all Prince Sudhanu was pre-eminent for beauty, splendour, escort, and perfume. He entered the sacrificial enclosure escorted by several hundred kings. In the sacrificial enclosure he saw many thousands of living things, both land and water animals. He saw the Kinnarī, too.

As soon as Prince Sudhanu saw the Kinnarī he conceived[3] a noble love for her, and she conceived a love for Sudhanu. As the Exalted One said in a verse in one of his discourses:

> *By living together in the past and by kindness in the present, so this love is born,*[4] *as a lotus is born in water.*

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[1] *Ācchāda.* For this sense of the word, see vol. 3, p. 35 (text).

[2] *Siṃhapura*, being, of course, a "city of lions"; but it was now filled with brāhmans on occasion of the great sacrifice.

[3] Literally "a noble love fell on him," *nipatitam.*

[4] Senart prints *sarvāntaṃ* = *sarva-anta* which is his conjecture for *sarvaṃ taṃ* of the MSS. The latter is also the reading of the verse in Pali as Senart found it in Minayeff's *Grammaire Pālie* (Guyard's trans., p. xxxiii). But Senart argues that a stronger epithet is required with *premaṃ* to correspond to *udāra* in the prose passage immediately above, and he claims that *sarvāntaṃ premaṃ* can denote "une inclination impérieuse, soudaine, irrésistible." The Pali verse is to be found subsequently printed in *J.* 2. 235 (= 3. 148, 185), and it would seem much better to adopt the reading found there *evam taṃ jāyate*, or, alternatively, the reading *evaṃ saṃjāyate* of the version of the same stanza as it is given in our text below p. 168. This has been adopted for translation.

So they fell in love with each other at first sight.

Prince Sudhanu asked King Sucandrima, "Why are all these thousands of living beings confined in the sacrificial enclosure?" The king replied, "With these I am offering a sacrifice; there will be plenty to eat, both of solid and of soft food."

The prince (99) asked "What profit is there in this sacrifice? What good will come of it? What good will come of a sacrifice that consists in slaughtering all these living things?" The king replied, "All these living beings who will be slain in this sacrifice will go to heaven. And as for me, I shall be reborn in heaven a number of times equal to the number of beings I shall slay in this sacrifice."

The prince replied, "Your majesty, is not this a wrong view? For the highest rule of dharma[1] is not to cause harm.[2] To take life is not dharma; to abstain from taking life is dharma. To steal is not dharma; to abstain from stealing is dharma. To go astray after sensual pleasures is not dharma; to abstain from going astray after sensual pleasures is dharma. To drink intoxicating liquor and spirits is not dharma; to abstain from drinking intoxicating liquor and spirits is dharma. To tell lies is not dharma; to abstain from telling lies is dharma. To slander is not dharma; to abstain from slander is dharma. Idle chatter[3] is not dharma; to abstain from idle chatter is dharma. Ignorance is not dharma; to abstain from being ignorant is dharma. Ill-will is not dharma; to abstain from ill-will is dharma. Wrong belief is not dharma; right belief is dharma. The path of the ten right actions is dharma. Your majesty, those who follow the path of the ten wrong actions are reborn in hell. Those who follow the path of the ten right actions are reborn in heaven. In the present instance the path taken by your majesty is not the path to heaven; it is the path that leads to hell."

[1] Literally "the highest dharma" *paramaṃ dharmaṃ*.

[2] *Ahiṃsā*.

[3] *Sambhinna pralāpa* "mixed or indiscriminate talk." The *P.E.D. s.v. palāpa* has an interesting note pointing out that P. Com. takes *palāpa* in this sense as identical with *palāpa* = Vedic *palāva* "chaff," and is followed by Trenckner *Notes*, 63. Cf. also *Miln. trans.*, ii, 63, "chaff as frivolous talk." For a similar list of things which are "not-dharma" see *A*. 5. 258, where the expression corresponding to *sambhinna pralāpa* is *samphappalāpa*.

When King Sucandrima heard this exposition of the dharma by Prince Sudhanu, he and all the other kings, as well as the great crowd, were pleased. And after hearing it, he let out all the living things, both land and water animals.

(100) Manoharā, the Kinnarī, clung to Prince Sudhanu. She had no thought for the world of the Kinnaras because of her love for Sudhanu. And Sudhanu, in his turn, no longer had any thought for the delights of sport, because of his love for Manoharā.

Following Prince Sudhanu's instructions King Sucandrima offered an unobjectionable,[1] blameless sacrifice. Several thousand recluses, brāhmans, beggars and wayfarers were given food and drink, and clothed with garments. When the sacrifice was over, Prince Sudhanu with Manoharā mounted on an elephant's back, and in great pomp, circumstance and splendour left Siṃhapura for Hastināpura.

When the young prince entered the city of Hastināpura it was gaily bedecked. Awnings were stretched over it. It was carpeted with bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth; it was sprinkled and swept, made fragrant with incense and strewn with flowers. In all directions there were mimes, dancers, athletes,[2] wrestlers, minstrels[3] and drummers. So Prince Sudhanu, along with Manoharā, in great pomp and circumstance entered Hastināpura mounted on an elephant's back. The prince dismissed all the royal maidens and amused himself with Manoharā alone. The thousand duties in King Subāhu's sixty-thousand cities were neglected; several thousand tasks[4] were abandoned.

The citizens and provincials made representations to King Subāhu. "Your majesty," said they, "Prince Sudhanu is completely bemused by Manoharā, the Kinnarī. He does not

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[1] *Nirgaḍa*, so interpreted by Senart after *B.R. s.v. gaḍa* -"obstacle." But as he points out a passive verb, *e.g. kṛitaṃ* is needed with the instrumental case, and possibly *nirgaḍaṃ* here hides some corruption of such a verb. It is tempting to suggest that the allusion is to the *nirargaḍa* sacrifice, or "sacrifice of the house unbarred" (see p. 224, *n.* 7), and that *nirgaḍa* is either to be emended into *nirargaḍa* or else to be regarded as a synonym of it. Certainly the festivities described in the next sentence are in keeping with a religious rite of such a name.

[2] *Ṛillaka* see vol. I. p. 187, note I.

[3] *Pāṇisvarya*— a player on the *pāṇisvara*, Pali *paṇissara*, a kind of musical instrument played with the hand, (? tabour). Cf. n. I p. 49.

[4] Supply *kāryāṇi* as subject of *nivartanti*.

administer the affairs entrusted to him. His duties as a ruler are neglected and several thousand tasks in the sixty thousand cities are abandoned."

King Subāhu called Prince Sudhanu to him and said to him, "My son, my subjects are protesting loudly. They say that you do not attend to affairs as you did before, but that you spend your time bemused with Manoharā. My son, send this Kinnarī away. **(101)** Let her go."

But the prince, caught in the toils of his desire for Manoharā, would not let her go. Again and again did his father say to him, "My son, send this Kinnarī away. I will have royal maidens brought to you instead,[1] as many as you will say." The prince, however, in spite of repeated appeals by his father refused to send her away.

The ministers, too, repeatedly reported to King Subāhu, saying, "Your majesty, Prince Sudhanu bemused by the Kinnarī Manoharā does not perform his duties as ruler, and many royal duties are neglected." The king ordered his ministers to place the prince in confinement, and the ministers at the king's command did so. But with the prince in confinement the household lost its good fortune,[2] and all its luck vanished. King Subāhu himself bade Manoharā go to Nirati,[3] the city of the Kinnaras. "Manoharā," said he, "go. I bid you, go where the pleasant and cool woodlands are, to the presence of your mother and father."

Then, arrayed in all her finery, she came out of the palace. And as she did so several thousands of Sudhanu's women wept in sorrow for Manoharā. In Hastināpura the citizens had come together in a solid mass,[4] on the left hand and on the right, as Manoharā made her way out of the city. On the left hand and on the right she was saluted[5] by thousands of

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[1] Literally "other royal maidens" *anyāni rājakanyāni*. Note neuter gender of *kanya*, for *kanyā*.

[2] The text here reads *ni:śreyaṃ saṃvṛittaṃ*. But *ni:śreya* can only mean "having no better," *i.e.* "excellent," like the usual form *ni:śreyasa*. To say that the household "became (*saṃvṛittaṃ*) excellent" is contrary to the sense of the context. *Ni:śreyaṃ* has therefore been emended into *ni:śrika* "deprived of happiness," etc.

[3] ? Not elsewhere mentioned.

[4] Literally, "there was not an interval of a man," *janapadasya antaraṃ nāsti*. *Janapada* here simply means "a man," as on p. 113 below the synonymous expression, *antaro janasya nāsti*, occurs.

[5] Literally "received," *pratīcchamānā*.

outstretched hands, and honoured with fragrant garlands by thousands of women and escorted by a great crowd of people. Having at length left Hastināpura she dismissed the crowd, and, turning towards the north where the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains, stood, she made her way thither. But she turned back now and then to look down towards Hastināpura and Sudhanu.

Now up there in the Himalayas, on the banks of the river Sutlej, two hunters happened to be hunting for deer. One hunter (**102**) was named Utpalaka, the other Mālaka. From afar they saw Manoharā the Kinnarī coming, decked out in all her finery, richly anointed, and carrying unwithered fragrant garlands. But ever and again she kept turning to gaze backwards. They recognised her as a Kinnarī, and bowing before her with their joined hands raised they asked her,

> *You go on and look round; you look round and go on. Why, lady, do you look round, and whither are you going?*

Manoharā replied :—

> *I yearn for two things, [my lord][1] and the home of the wild men.[2] I look down towards Sudhanu, and yet I would fain get to Nirati.*

Then the hunters said :—

> *Prince Sudhanu has women from among the Kurus and Pañcālas.[3] He takes his joy with them; he will not remember you.[4]*

Manoharā replied :—

> *I can draw Sudhanu with a glance and a smile. Though one be grown as big as an elephant I'll still have power to hold him.*

She gave the hunters a finger-ring which she wore, worth a hundred-thousand pieces and a garland of *tālīsa*,[5] saying, "If Prince Sudhanu comes after me looking for me, give him

[1] Lacuna in the text. Senart suggests *patiṃ*.
[2] *Kimpuruṣa*.
[3] See Vol. I, p. 29.
[4] Note *tubhyam*, dative with *smarati*.
[5] *Tālīsa*, Pali, also *tālissa*, *tālīsaka*, cf. Sk. *tālī*, *tālīśa*, and *talāśā*, the shrub *Flacourtia catāphracta*. (*P.E.D.*)

these tokens and greet him in my name. You are to say to him, 'Return hence, you are on a difficult road (103) beyond the haunts of men.' For it is my destiny to live apart from men."

When she had thus instructed the hunters, Manoharā crossed the river Sutlej without touching it even with the soles of her feet.

When King Subāhu learnt that Manoharā had gone he sent for Prince Sudhanu, who was embraced by his father and mother. "Son," they told him, "think no more of the Kinnarī. You have a numerous harem, and I shall even get thousands of other women besides. With these divert, delight and amuse yourself. What is the Kinnarī to you? You are a human being."

Thus did the king comfort the prince, and he gave orders to his ministers, saying, "Have the prince's dwelling decorated." To the women he gave instructions, saying, "See that you delight the prince well, so that he will no longer think of Manoharā."

At the king's command the prince's house was so decorated that in every respect it could be styled a celestial mansion.[1] In the seven entrance-halls jars of aromatic powders were placed, and unhusked grain[2] and all the other things which are considered marks of good fortune[3] in the world. Thousands of brāhmans were posted at the prince's door, and another large number of people watched over the prince.

When his father had thus comforted the prince he dismissed him. "Go home," said he, "do your act of worship, bathe and anoint yourself. Then, decked out with garlands and jewels, divert, enjoy and amuse yourself, and administer the royal affairs." Having been thus instructed by his father Prince Sudhanu was dismissed.

After he had left the palace, with one devoted companion, Vasantaka, he went out from Hastināpura and turned his steps towards the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains, in quest of Manoharā. The prince gave no thought to his

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[1] ? Literally "as a celestial mansion so was it decorated and [could] in every way (*sarva-*) be called (*saṃjñitaṃ*. Cf. Pali *saññita* = *saññāta*).

[2] *Akṣatāni.*

[3] *Maṅgalasaṃmatāni.*

father's sixty-thousand rich cities (**104**), the villages and provinces, and his spacious harem. So much did he grieve for Manoharā and remember her.

When[1] *he observed the king's lamentation*[2] *then did he renounce everything, and set out wearing garments that were unwashed and soiled.*

He took with him one devoted and loving attendant, and turned his face towards the monarch of mountains ; to the Himalayas he wended his way.

Ere long he came to the pleasant mountain slopes of the Himalayas, and there he espied the two hunters, Uppalaka[3] *and Mālaka.*

He saw, too, the stream of Sutlej ever clear and limpid as crystal. . . .[4]

The Sutlej, with its pleasant and cool stream flowing gently, freshly and nobly along, rolled on between verdant banks. It could carry on army on its bosom.[5]

Sudhanu said, " Hunters, did you see a woman of dusky complexion pass by, richly anointed, and carrying a fragrant unwithered garland ? "

They replied, " She whom you seek went by a long time ago. She crossed the river, and by this time she has reached the Himalayas.

" She forewarned us, saying, ' If a man, named Sudhanu, should come after me, (**105**) *O hunters, give him this token.*

" ' Give him this finger-ring of mine and this garland of sweet-smelling tālīsa. *He is my husband, lord and master.*

" ' O hunters, greet my lord in my name. Bid him return to Hastināpura. For it is my destiny to live in continence apart from him '."

Joyfully he seized the garland and took hold of the ring, and said, " I'll go to my death or to reunion with Manoharā."

The two hunters answered Sudhanu, " Now," said they,

[1] A metrical version of part of the tale.
[2] The text here is doubtful.
[3] Called *Utpalaka* in the prose version above.
[4] Lacuna.
[5] *Vahanti akṣauhinyo.* But, as Senart says, the reading is suspect. One MS. has *akṣīṇyo,* which may point to *akṣīṇa,* " not waning," *i.e.,* " growing," as part of the right reading.

"go back from here. What woman in the city of Hastināpura could be undevoted[1] to you?"

But this it was not in his heart to do, and he hearkened not to their words. He was determined to go in spite of all,[2] and he crossed the great stream of Sutlej.

The hunters, left standing there, reflected, "The king will be sore vexed with us if we thus abandon Sudhanu in his perilous enterprise."

So they, too, crossed the river, while herds of tigers, lions and elephants roared, and deer and birds followed its course, and red geese merrily cackled.

And immediately they crossed the great river as its waters flowed on[3] delightfully to the accompaniment of the songs of geese and swans, the hissing of snakes and the cries of the Kinnaras.

Thus the prince, his attendant Vasantaka and the hunters Utpalaka and Mālaka, bent on catching up with Manoharā entered the Himalayas, the monarch of mountains, on foot. **(106)** As for Manoharā she went on making garlands for herself from the flowers of many colours which grew along her way.[4] The others, seeing the flowers she left behind, followed in her wake. Here the dusky lady had stopped to rest, and then gone on again. There she had sat down for a moment, as was proved by the heap of flowers.[5] Here were fair spotless garlands which she had made, and here and there were seen the beautiful ear-rings of flowers which she had made.

They knew thus that the dusky lady had gone by, and so they went on. They saw ornaments of various kinds fallen on the path, and some hanging on the branches of trees. They saw other signs as well.

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[1] Reading *abhakta* (for *abhaktā*, metri causa) for *abhukta* of the text. Two MSS. have *abhinna* "steadfast," a reading which would demand a negative *na* in the sentence.

[2] *Yeva.*

[3] Reading *prapātajalāṃ* (> *jala*, "water") for *°jālāṃ* of the text which forces Senart to the cumbersome translation—"divisée en un réseau de courants par les rochers sur lesquels elle se brise." Such a description is definitely at variance with what has been previously said of the stream.

[4] Literally "putting (tying) on herself the hanging down flowers," *kusumāni olambamānāni ābandhamānā.*

[5] Literally "(for) here was her heap of flowers" *ayamasyā puṣpanikara* (for *°nikaraṃ* of the text, the nom. masc. is wanted.).

The farther they penetrated into the Himalayas the more numerous were the precious stones they saw. They saw mountains with peaks of gold; they saw mountains with peaks of silver. They saw smiths working in iron, copper and brass. They saw mountain peaks of zinc[1]; they saw mountains of antimony[2] and mountains of red arsenic.[3] They saw couples of Kinnaras disporting themselves. And many hundreds of other marvels and wonders did they see. In all directions could be heard the sound of Kinnaras singing, the roars of lions, tigers and bears, and the cries of various other wild beasts. They heard the cries of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas, and Kumbhāṇḍas.[4] They saw hundreds of medicinal herbs of various kinds, and they saw wizards.

As they proceeded on their way they espied the retreat of the seer Kāśyapa, which was well supplied with plentiful roots, leaves, flowers and fruits, was shaded by thousands of trees and well watered. They entered the retreat, and there they saw the seer Kāśyapa, venerable and distinguished, seated with his attendants. They saluted the seer **(107)** and his attendants, and stood before them.

The seer thought to himself, "This illustrious prince must needs be good and virtuous, seeing that he has come to this retreat. It is a place that is not easily reached." He greeted the prince, saying, "Welcome, prince, pray be seated. Here are couches." The prince and his companions sat down. The seer set before them fruits that were as sweet as pure honey, and water.

When the prince had eaten the fruits and drunk the water, the seer asked him, "On what business does the well-to-do and prosperous prince come?"

The prince replied, "Sir, did you see a beautiful woman pass by?" The seer answered, "Yes, I saw her. She came and stayed in this retreat. Then she bowed at my feet and went on along the mountain slopes. So let your highness turn back from this retreat. It was an arduous toil for the prince to come even as far as this place. But what will it

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[1] *Yaśada.*
[2] *Añjana.*
[3] *Manaśila.*
[4] See Vol. 1, p. 212, *n.* 1.

be like for him to go still farther on a path untrodden of men? Turn back therefore." But the prince said, "Sir, I cannot turn back. By that same way by which Manoharā has gone will I go too." The seer said: "The ways of Kinnarīs are different from the ways of men. Even birds cannot penetrate[1] into the ways of the Kinnarīs. How much less can men? Birds, too, somehow come to this place. Where the Kinnaras go rejoicing and realise their life of joy, that place, O prince, is unapproachable to the footsteps of men. Therefore turn back from this retreat. Your father is lord of sixty-thousand cities. Should not the prince divert and amuse himself by taking part in noble means of enjoyment? He cannot go to this unapproachable place." The prince, however, replied, "I'll either die or see her."[2]

(**108**) Now the seer was a highly gifted man, of great kindliness of heart, and compassionate. He thought to himself, "If the prince goes to this inaccessible place, he will certainly perish." So he said, "Prince, for this night stay[3] here in the hermitage until the monkeys come to this place. The leader of their herd is devoted to me, and constantly comes to make obeisance to me and bring me fruits sweet as fresh honey. I shall make a request of this king of the monkeys, and he will guide you to the city, called Nirati, of Druma, king of the Kinnaras." The prince stayed for the night. When the dawn was breaking he heard a sound as of a lion running by. He asked the young companions of the seer, "Whom did I hear running by?" One of them replied "That was the sound of the king of monkeys running by. At this time of day he regularly brings fruits sweet as fresh honey, and running from thicket to thicket comes to bow at our master's feet."

The prince rose up eagerly and noted where the noise made by the running monkey came from. And then he saw the king of the monkeys come passing from one thicket to another.

The king of the monkeys came to the retreat, threw down in front of the seer the honey-sweet fruits he had brought,

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[1] *Sambhuṇanti*, see Vol. 1, p. 35, *n*. 3.

[2] Literally, "It is either death or she will have to be seen," *maraṇaṃ vā sā vā paśyitavyā*.

[3] *vītināmehi*, Pali *vītināmeti* = *vi- ati- nāmeti* "to spend" (time, etc.).

and sat down. The seer said to him, "O king of monkeys, do me a good turn." The king of the monkeys replied, "I will, sir. Command me." The seer said. "Conduct this prince and his three companions to the city, named Nirati, of the Kinnara King Druma." The monkey replied, "I'll do so."

The king of monkeys, then, took the prince and his three companions on his back, and left the hermitage. Passing from mountain peak to mountain peak and from forest to forest, ere long he reached the city of Druma, king of the Kinnaras, (**109**) on the summit of mount Kailāsa. And on the summit of mount Kailāsa he saw the city, named Nirati, of Druma, king of the Kinnaras.

This city was finely constructed entirely of gold. It was surrounded by a thousand parks, and by lotus-pools adorned with all the precious stones, having steps made of planks of beryl and ornamented with all the precious stones, and railings of the seven precious stones around them; they were covered with fragrant blue, red, yellow and white lotuses and enclosed in gem-studded banks. Boats gleaming with various jewels floated on them, bright as spring, and other various kinds of skiffs sailed on them as well. The city was embowered by thousands of woods full of variegated flowers, leaves and fruits, and beautified by the *atimuktaka*,[1] *campaka*, *vārṣika*[2], the Arabian jasmine,[3] the great-flowered jasmine,[4] the double jasmine[5] and the *yūthika*.[6] Here and there they saw thousands of couples of Kinnaras disporting themselves. Some played on pipes[7] and others on various other kinds of musical instruments, and others sang in sweet voices around Manoharā. Within the city could be heard the hundred sounds of musical instruments and the sweet strains of singing.

And then, as they stood there without the city of the king of the Kinnaras, in a grove, they saw a group of Kinnarīs, who were comely, beautiful, gaily adorned and splendidly

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[1] See Vol. 1, page 205, n. 4.
[2] *Jasminum Sambac.*
[3] *Mallikā.*
[4] *Sumanā.*
[5] *Mālikā.*
[6] *Jasminum auriculatum.* ? Yellow jasmine. See *S.B.E.* xxxvi. p. 224.
[7] *Jaladardaraka* (cf. *jaladardura* in *M.W.* = water-pipe, or kind of musical instrument.) See also p. 97 (text).

arrayed, coming with golden pitchers in their hands to draw water at the pool where Sudhanu stood.

Sudhanu asked them, "What festival is on in the city, that there is such great rejoicing?" They replied, "To-day is no festival nor holiday. But the daughter, named Manoharā, of Druma, king of the Kinnaras, who was enticed away by men, has after many years come back again. And at her coming Druma, the king of the Kinnaras, and all (**110**) his city rejoice. Hence all this merry-making."

Sudhanu asked, "Where is this water to be taken?" They replied, "Manoharā is going to have a bath so that the smell of men shall be removed from her."

The prince put the finger-ring in the last pitcher, in such a way that it was not seen by the Kinnarīs.

Manoharā had her bath, and as she bathed the finger-ring fell out of the pitcher on to her lap. When she saw the finger-ring she recognised it. She thought to herself, "Prince Sudhanu has come to seek me. He was delicately brought up.[1] How can he have got to this inaccessible place?"

Then in great haste she put on her clothes. Weeping and sobbing she threw herself at her parents' feet and said to them, "He who in Jambudvīpa was my husband has come. He is named Sudhanu, and is a prince, the only son of King Subāhu." But Druma, the king of the Kinnaras, did not believe[2] her. "My daughter," said he, "it is not possible for humans to come here." Manoharā replied, "Not so, father, for he has manifestly come." Druma, king of the Kinnaras, asked, "Did you see him yourself, or did you hear of him from another?" She replied, "I have neither seen him myself nor have I heard of him from another. But as I was bathing Sudhanu's finger-ring dropped into my lap."

Druma, king of the Kinnaras, called for the water-carriers and asked them, "When you had gone to fetch water, where did you see a man?" They replied, "Your majesty, we saw a comely and beautiful Kinnara youth with three companions

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[1] *Sukumāra.* The alternative variant form in Pali is *sukhumāla.* Senart explains the latter form as a secondary derivative from Pali *sukhuma*, Sk. *sūkṣma*, "fine," "subtle," etc. The Sk. form *sukumāra* has been influenced by a false etymology, *su* + *kumāra.*

[2] *Pattīyati*, cf. Pali *pattiyāyati*, denominative from *pattiya* for **pratyaya*, *paccaya*, Sk. *prati-i* "go towards," "believe," etc.

on the edge of a lotus-pool." He thought to himself, "This is evidently Manoharā's prince. How was he able to come to this place?"

Then he asked his daughter, "Manoharā, shall I bid prince Sudhanu enter[1] the palace?" She replied, "Yes, father. Let him enter. He has come hither because of his love for me, (**111**) and on my account he is very much out of favour and respect with his father, at whose hands he suffered imprisonment and punishment. But he would never give me up. When prince Sudhanu was confined in his house by King Subāhu, I was sent away. As soon as he was released he set out after me."

Druma, the king of the Kinnaras, gave orders to his ministers, saying, "Quickly have the city decorated, including the royal palace and the *asuras*'[2] lotus-pools. Have an awning stretched out and bright flowers strewn around; have the city draped with streamers of fine cloth; have it sprinkled and swept, strewn with garlands of flowers and drenched with sweet-smelling water. Let all my chief men in the city and army, with chariots beflagged and bannered, go out to meet my son-in-law."

All the king's commands were carried out by his ministers and a reception arranged with great pomp. Manoharā also, clothed in a costly mantle and splendidly adorned with all sorts of ornaments, went out to meet him, accompanied by several thousand Kinnaras and to the accompaniment of thousands of musical instruments. When she saw Sudhanu she bowed at his feet and touched them with her face and hair.

Thus with great splendour and pomp Sudhanu was led into the city of Druma, king of the Kinnaras, and into the royal palace. There he was welcomed, embraced, and comforted by King Druma. "This city," said the king to him, "which is all made of gold, encircled by thousands of parks, and infinitely fair, is yours. Here, with my daughter Manoharā, divert, enjoy and amuse yourself."

Now when Sudhanu had lived in the city of the Kinnaras for many years, diverting, enjoying, and amusing himself, he

[1] The original as printed is not a question, but a command, *praviśatu* "let him enter." But the context, as shown by *pṛicchati*, requires a question, *i.e.* he asked her whether he should give the command "Let him enter."

[2] *Asurakā*. In "Kinnara" language this word may only mean "divine" or "divinely beautiful." But the reading is not above suspicion.

began to feel a desire to return home.[1] "Manoharā," said he, "you know that I am the only son of my parents, dear to and beloved of them. Because of my love for you (112) and without asking my parents' leave, I abandoned everything and made a voluntary renunciation, and came here. And now it is many a year since I have come here to live. Therefore, tell your mother and father that I am going back to Hastināpura."

Manoharā reported this to her parents. Druma, king of the Kinnaras, asked Sudhanu, "Are you going back to your parents?" The prince replied, "If, sire, you approve, I shall go." Druma said, "I will let you go." Now the Yakṣas who were called Yambhakas[2] were under the authority[3] of the Kinnaras, and the king gave them orders, saying, "Conduct my son-in-law, his attendants, and Manoharā, to Hastināpura, and take with you an abundant supply of all kinds of precious stones." And they lifted up Prince Sudhanu, his attendants, and Manoharā, as they were lying asleep, and bore them and an abundant supply of precious stones from the city of the Kinnaras. They carried them to Hastināpura, where they set them down in a royal park. At daybreak, Prince Sudhanu woke up and heard the roar of the drum and the noise of the people in Hastināpura. He asked himself, "How was I brought to Hastināpura?" Then he recognised the royal park, the bejewelled palanquins as though specially placed there,[4] and Manoharā and his three companions, and the abundant treasure. He was glad to have come to his dear city.

King Subāhu had caused a very strenuous search to be made for the prince after he had left Hastināpura. And when he failed to find him he said, "My son must have died in his quest for Manoharā." So the king had ordered funeral rites to be performed for the dead Prince Sudhanu. And all the people in the place had also thought that Sudhanu was dead.

Then the park-keepers hurried out of the city to hoist flags

[1] Literally "he experienced or felt that he should return home," *samāvartanīyam* (for *saṃvartanīyam* of the text) *anubhavitvā*.

[2] These do not seem to be mentioned elsewhere, nor can their name be etymologically explained.

[3] Literally, "Doers of the orders of," *āṇattikarās*.

[4] Literally "like appointed (seats)" *yathā prajñaptāni*.

in the royal park by the main gate. (113) And when they reached the park they saw Sudhanu, Manoharā and the three companions, the jewelled palanquins, and the great heap of precious stones. When they had seen all this they hurried back again and entered Hastināpura. The people asked "Is all well[1]?" They replied, "All is well. For Prince Sudhanu has come back." And the people were delighted to hear this.

The park-keepers proceeded to the royal palace and made their report to King Subāhu. "Your majesty," said they, "all hail! Prince Sudhanu has come." The king and all his court rejoiced on hearing this, and a generous reward was given to the park-keepers.

King Subāhu, his ministers and attendants, the queen, Sudhanu's mother, and all the women of the court ran out to the park to see the prince. And all the citizens did so, too, when they heard of the arrival of Prince Sudhanu and Manoharā. There was a solid mass of people[2] hurrying out from Hastināpura to the royal park to see the prince and Manoharā.

When Sudhanu saw his mother and father he bowed his head at their feet, and Manoharā, when she saw her parents-in-law, did likewise. The prince, with Subāhu his father, mounted a richly caparisoned elephant clothed in a net-work of gold, and with great royal pomp, splendour and magnificence entered Hastināpura.

> *Thus let all men, abandoning folly, be united with all those dear to them, as on this occasion Sudhanu was united with the Kinnarī.*

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the prince named Sudhanu was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the prince named Sudhanu. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king named Subāhu was somebody else. That, too, you must

[1] ? *Pṛicchati kṣemaṃ*—"asked, is it peace?" or "asked for peace."
[2] *Antaro janasya nāsti*, see above p. 98, *n.* 4.

not think. And why? King Śuddhodana here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the king named Subāhu. (114) You may think that at that time and on that occasion the mother of Sudhanu was somebody else. You must not think that. And why? Queen Māyā here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Sudhanu's mother. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion Sudhanu's attendant named Vasantaka was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Chandaka here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Sudhanu's attendant. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the hunter named Uppalaka was somebody else. You must not think so. Why? Rāhula here, monks, was the hunter named Uppalaka. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the hunter named Mālaka was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? The elder Ānanda here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the hunter named Mālaka. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the seer named Kāśyapa was somebody else. You must not think so. Why? The elder Mahā-Kāśyapa here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the seer of the Kāśyapan clan living in the Himalayas. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the king of the monkeys in the Himalayas was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Kaṇṭhaka here, monks, the king of steeds, at that time and on that occasion was the king of monkeys in the Himalayas. You may think that the Kinnara king, named Druma, living on the summit of Mount Kailāsa was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? The Śākyan Mahānāma here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the Kinnara King Druma. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the mother of Manoharā was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Yasodharā's mother here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the mother of Manoharā. You may think that at that time and on that occasion Manoharā was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Yaśodharā here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Manoharā the Kinnarī. Then, too, it was after much fatigue that I won her.

(115) *He whose eloquence is brilliant and profound, whose learning is great, who destroys the lusts and crushes his opponents, he, monks, shines in his teaching of the Self-becoming One as the full-orbed moon shines in the sky.*

Here ends the Kinnarī Jātaka.

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION

The Exalted One, fully enlightened and having attained the end he had set out to achieve, was staying at Śrāvastī[1] and teaching devas and men. Giving a detailed account of the event he thus addressed his monks.

I was delicately,[2] most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up my Śākyan father caused to be built for me three palaces, for the cold, the warm and the rainy seasons, where I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father caused to be constructed in those palaces gabled upper rooms, plastered inside and outside, free from draught, with close-bolted doors[3] and well-fitting casements, fumigated with incense and embroidered with strips and braids of coloured cloth and with festoons of flowers, where I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father caused to be made in those upper rooms couches of gold, silver and precious stones, spread with sixteen fleecy covers,[4] white blankets.[5] counterpanes of many colours,[6]

[1] See Vol. I, p. 5, *n.* 5.
[2] *Sukumāra*, see p. 106, *n.* 1.
[3] Reading *nivātāni āsparṣārgaḍāni* for *vātāsparṣārgaḍāni* of the text. Two MSS. have the reading *vātāni*, and the prefix *ni-* has probably dropped by haplography, the preceding word ending in *-ni*. For the second word cf. Pali *phassitaggaḷa*, *A*. I. 101 and *M*. I. 76.
[4] *Goṇika*, BSk. = Pali *goṇaka*, "a woollen cover with long fleece."
[5] Reading *paṭikāstaraṇāṃ* for *paṭṭikā°* of the text, cf. *D*. I. 7.
[6] *Citrāstaraṇāṃ*, cf. Pali *cittakā*, *D*. I. 7. Perhaps we ought to read *citrakā*, as the analogy of the other terms would seem to require a substantive as first part of the compound.

woollen coverlets embroidered with flowers,[1] with crimson and red pillows at either end, and with white rugs, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately (116) brought up, my Śākyan father caused awnings to be made over these couches to ward off dust and light, so that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father provided me with various kinds of ointment, namely of aloe, sandalwood, black gum and the *tamāla* leaf, so that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father had made for me various kinds of garments, namely, of fine Benares cotton and of fine wool, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was thus being delicately brought up, my Śākyan father provided me with various garlands, namely, of the flowers of the *atimuktaka*,[2] the *campaka*[3], the *vārṣika*[4] the *vātuṣkārin*,[5] the blue water lily,[6] the donā,[7] flowers culled by devas,[8] that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father provided me with a varied diet, namely rice from which the black grain had been sifted[9] and curry of various flavours, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan

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[1] Reading *paṭalikā* for *phalika* ("crystal"!) of the text. Cf. *D.* 1. 7. Miss I. B. Horner has supplied the translator with the following Pali references to these blankets, etc., *V.* 1. 192, 2. 163; *M.* 1. 76; *A.* 1. 180, 3. 50, 4. 94, 231, 394.

[2] See above, p. 105, *n.* 1.

[3] See above, p. 17, *n.* 3.

[4] See above, p. 105, *n.* 2.

[5] An unknown flower, also mentioned in Vol. 1, p. 249 (text).

[6] *Indīvara, Nymphaea stellata,* or *Cassia fistula.*

[7] *Damanaka* = *damana, Artemisia Indica,* commonly called donā.

[8] ? *Devopasaṃhitā.* See also in Vol. 1, p. 249 (text).

[9] Reading *vicitakālaka* for *vicitra*° of the text.

father presented me immediately after I had eaten[1] with the chaplet appropriate to a universal king, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father provided me with the means of enjoying the five varieties of sensual pleasures,[2] namely dance, song, music,[3] orchestra[4] and women, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father provided me with various means of conveyance, elephants, horses, boats and palanquins, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. **(117)** And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father provided me with numerous riding-rugs, namely, of lion skin, tiger skin, leopard skin and white wool, and merrily flapping flags, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father had a sunshade held over me when I went abroad lest the heat, dust or light torment me, and so that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father caused to be made for me gardens, each facing one of the four points of the compass, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myelf.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan father caused to be made in those gardens, each facing a point of the compass, a lotus-pool covered with blue and white lotuses and white water-lilies, that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, my Śākyan

[1] *Bhuktāvisya*, formed after Pali *bhuttāvissa*, gen. and dat. of *bhuttāvin*.

[2] Or "the five strands of sensual pleasures," *pañca kāmaguṇā*, i.e. the pleasures derived through each of the five sensory organs. But the pleasures here enumerated are not obviously correlated to each of the five.

[3] *Vāditaṃ*, "instrumental music."

[4] *Tūryaṃ*, a general term for musical instruments (Pali *turiya*, usually referred to as being of five kinds. See *P.E.D.* and Vol. 1, p. 135, *n.* 2.)

father caused to be built in those gardens, each facing a point of the compass, high, great, and lofty palaces that I might divert, enjoy and amuse myself.

I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was being thus delicately brought up, this thought occurred to me: "Now this life at home is too full of hindrances.[1] The way of religious life is in the open air.[2] It is not possible for one living at home to live the holy life that is utterly bright,[3] blameless, pure and clean. Let me then, now go away from home into the homeless state."

Then, monks, against the wishes of my sobbing and weeping parents, I left my sumptuous[4] home and the universal kingship that was in my hands.[5] And, now, being a wanderer from home into the homeless state, I withdrew towards the city of Veśālī[6] and reached it.

(**118**) Now at that time in the great city of Veśālī there dwelt Ārāḍa Kālāma,[7] who was honoured, revered, respected, worshipped and praised by three hundred disciples. To his Jain disciples[8] he preached as his doctrine the dogma of what is to be doubted.[9] He exhorted them thus: "See, see;

[1] Or "confined" *sambādha*, cf. Pali *id.*

[2] *Abhyavakāśaṃ pravrajyā*, cf. Pali *abbhokāso pabbajjā*, *D.* 1. 62, etc. *Dial.* translates "Free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all wordly things."

[3] Reading *śankhalikhita* "polished like a mother-of-pearl," for *saṃlikhita;* cf. Pali *sankhalikhita* in the same sense, e.g. *A.* 5. 204. *Saṃlikhita* would more naturally be the adjectival form corresponding to Pali *sallekha,* "austere penance." But the sense of "bright" is required here.

[4] *Alūha,* see note 1, p. 63 above.

[5] Reading *hastatvaṃ* (= Pali *hatthattha*) for *hastoktam* of the text. See above p. 66 for a similar emendation of *hastokta,* a word which Senart confesses is inexplicable to him. We could, perhaps, render, "my power and my universal kingship,"

[6] See Vol. 1, p. 208, *n.* 2.

[7] Pali *Āḷāra Kālāma.* See *D.P.N.* for references.

[8] *Jinaśrāvakā,* though the usual BSk. term for a Jain was *nirgrantha* (Pali *nigaṇṭha*).

[9] *Āśankitavyasahavratāyai dharmaṃ deśayati. Sahavratā* in this sense seems to be found only here and immediately below in the definition of Udraka Rāmaputra's teaching. From its adjectival meaning of "having or keeping in common a vow or promise" it may be assumed that it means "communal devotion," hence "belief of a sect or school," or "dogma." At *M.* 1. 164 Ārāḍa says that the final aim of his teaching is to realise "the sphere of nothingness" *ākiñcaññāyatana.* The same theory of Ārāḍa's is also mentioned in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita,* xii. 63. In neither of the two latter works is there any allusion to "a dogma of what is to be doubted (or feared)." The doctrine of Gotama's second teacher Udraka Rāmaputra is identical in all three texts. But there does not seem to be any MS. justification for emending *āśankitavya* into *ākiñcanyāyatana,* and so bring the *Mhvu.* into line with the other two texts as regards the teaching of Ārāḍa also.

renounce, renounce." And his disciples responded, "We see, we see; we renounce, we renounce, we and the others."

Then, monks, the thought occurred to me: "What now if I were to practise the holy life as a disciple of Ārāḍa[1]?" So I went to Ārāḍa Kālāma and said to him, "I would wish to lead the holy life as a disciple of the venerable Ārāḍa."

When I had thus spoken, Ārāḍa Kālāma replied, "Do so, O Gotama. Such is this doctrine and rule,[2] that, should a young noble practise the holy life in faith. he would attain to states of virtue."

This thought came to me, monks: "I, too, have will, strength, and energy. Let me then set out to win and realise this dharma." And by abiding solitary, diligent, earnest, resolute and secluded[3] I was not long in understanding and realising this dharma.

Then, monks, I went to Ārāḍa Kālāma and said to him, "Is the dharma understood, realised, preached and prescribed by the venerable Ārāḍa just this?" And Ārāḍa replied, "Even so, Gotama, just this is the dharma which I have understood, realised, preached and prescribed."

When he had thus spoken I replied to Ārāḍa Kālāma and said, "Then, O Ārāḍa, I, too, have understood and realised this dharma."

Then, monks, Ārāḍa Kālāma said to me, "Therefore, O Gotama, (**119**) the dharma that I know, the worthy Gotama knows, and the dharma that the worthy Gotama knows I, too, know. Let us then both jointly superintend this seminar." And thus, monks, would Ārāḍa Kālāma show me the highest honour and commendation. For, seeing that I held such a belief, he would put me on the same footing[4] as himself.

But, monks, this dharma of Ārāḍa does not issue for him who practises in the utter waning of ill. So I said "Let me then seek farther." And so, monks, in this frame of mind, I set out for the city of Rājagṛiha, reached it and stayed there.

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[1] Literally "in *or* under Arāḍa," *Ārāḍe.*

[2] *Dharma* and *Vinaya.*

[3] *Vyapakrista,* BSk., cf. Pali *vūpakaṭṭha* which may be "a retranslation of it." (see *P.E.D.*).

[4] Literally, "in impartiality," *samānārthatāye.* *M.* I. 165 expresses it thus, *attano samasamaṃ.*

Now at that time in Rājagṛiha there dwelt Udraka Rāmaputra,[1] who was honoured, revered, respected and worshipped by seven hundred disciples. He preached to his Jain disciples as his doctrine the dogma concerning the sphere of what is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.[2] He exhorted his disciples thus, " See, see ; renounce, renounce." And his disciples responded, " We see, we see ; we renounce, we renounce, we and the others."

Then, monks, the thought occurred to me : " What now if I were to practise the holy life as a disciple of Udraka Rāmaputra ? " So, monks, I went to Udraka Rāmaputra and said to him, " O Udraka, I would wish to live the holy life as your disciple. Will the worthy Udraka allow me ? " When I had thus spoken, Udraka replied, " Then live here, O Gotama, dwell here, O Gotama. Such is this doctrine and rule of mine that, should a young noble (**120**) practise the holy life in faith, he would attain to states of virtue."

Then, monks, the thought occurred to me, " I, too, have will, strength, and energy. Let me then abide solitary, diligent, earnest, resolute and secluded in order to attain and realise this dharma." And so, monks, by abiding solitary, diligent, earnest, resolute and secluded in order to attain and realise this dharma, I was not long in understanding and realising it.

Then, monks, I went to Udraka Rāmaputra and said to him, " Is the dharma understood, realised, preached and prescribed by the worthy Rāma just this, namely, the sphere of what is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness ? "

When I had thus spoken, monks, Udraka Rāmaputra replied, " Even so, O Gotama, the dharma understood, realised and prescribed by the worthy Rāma is just this, namely, the sphere of what is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.'

So, monks, I said to Udraka Rāmaputra, " Then, O Uddaka,[3] I, too, have understood and realised this dharma."

Then, monks, Uddaka Rāmaputra said, " Therefore, O Gotama, the dharma that the worthy Rāma knows the

[1] Pali *Uddaka Rāmaputta*. See *D.P.N.* for references.

Naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana—sahavratāyai dharmaṃ deśayai. For *sahavratā*, see note above, p. 114.

[3] So spelt here.

worthy Gotama knows, too. So now let the worthy Gotama also take charge of this seminar." In this way, monks, would Udraka Rāmaputra show me the highest honour and commendation, for, finding that I held such a belief, he would make me a teacher on an equal footing with him himself.

But, then, monks, the thought occurred to me: "This dharma of Rāma's does not issue for him who practises it in the utter waning of ill. Let me then seek farther."

And, monks, being disinclined to that belief I set out for the city of Gayā,[1] reached it, and stayed there.

(121) While I stayed on Mount Gayāśīrṣa[2] there were revealed to me the three similitudes,[3] which I had not heard of in former lives, which, indeed, had never been heard of, which were unknown to me, and were, indeed, unknown before. What were the three?

All the worthy recluses and brāhmans who live with their bodies and minds not withdrawn from the pleasures of sense, and whose thoughts of these, their fondness for them, their feverish longing for them and their attachment to them have not been subdued, though they undergo unpleasant, cruel, bitter, and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, are yet incapable of the state of "further men,"[4] of knowledge, insight and enlightenment. Just as if a man needing a fire, looking for it, searching for it, should go and, standing in water, should rub with a damp fire-drill a wet piece of wood full of sap.[5] He could not kindle a spark nor produce a flame. In just the same way, though these worthy recluses and brāhmans undergo unpleasant, cruel, bitter and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, they are incapable of the state of "further men", of knowledge, insight and enlightenment.

Thus then, monks, there was revealed to me while staying on Mount Gayāśīrṣa the first similitude, which I had not

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[1] A town on the road between the *bodhi*-tree and Benares.

[2] A hill near Gayā.

[3] *Upamā*. Cf. *M.* I. 241. It is not correct, as some translators from Pali have done, to render this word by "allegory."

[4] The translator owes this rendering of *uttarimanuṣyadharma* to Miss I. B. Horner. See the Index to her *Book of the Discipline*, Vol. I, under *Further*. Cf. *V.* 3. 91, where there is a definition of *uttarimanussadhamma*.

[5] Reading, as Senart suggests, *ārdraṃ kāṣṭhaṃ sasnehaṃ*, acc, for *ārdre*, etc.

heard of in former lives, which, indeed, had never been heard of, which was unknown to me, and was, indeed unknown before.

The thought came to me, monks, that all the worthy recluses and brāhmans who live with their bodies withdrawn from the pleasures of sense, but not so their minds, and whose thoughts of them, their fondness for them, their feverish longing for them and their attachment to them have not been subdued, though they (122) undergo unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, are yet incapable of the state of "further-men," of knowledge, insight and enlightenment. Just as if a man needing a fire, looking for it, searching for it, should go and, though standing on dry ground, rub a wet and sappy piece of wood[1] with a damp fire-drill. He could not kindle a spark nor produce a flame. In the same way all those recluses and brāhmans who live with their bodies withdrawn from sensual pleasures, but not so their minds, and whose thoughts of them, their fondness for them, their feverish longing for them and their attachment have not been subdued, though they undergo unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, are incapable of the state of "further men," of knowledge, insight and enlightenment.

This then, was the second similitude which was revealed to me when I stayed on Mount Gayāśīrṣa, which I had not heard of in former lives, which, indeed, had not been heard of before, which was unknown to me, and was, indeed, not known before.

The thought came to me, monks, that all the worthy recluses and brāhmans who live with both body and mind withdrawn from sensual pleasures, and whose thoughts of them, their fondness for them, their feverish longing for them and their attachment to them have been subdued, and who have undergone unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, are capable of the state of "further men," of knowledge, insight and enlightenment. Just as if a man needing a fire, looking for it, (123)

[1] Reading *ārdraṃ kāṣṭhaṃ*, etc., as above p. 121.

searching for it, should go and, standing on dry ground, rub a dry fire-drill on a dry sapless piece of wood. He would be able to kindle a spark and produce a flame. It is just so in the case of those worthy recluses and brāhmans who live with both bodies and minds withdrawn from sensual pleasures, and whose thoughts of them, their fondness for them, their feverish longing for them and their attachment to them have been subdued. Though they undergo unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, they are capable of the state of "further men," of knowledge, insight and enlightenment.

These then, monks, were the three similitudes which were revealed to me when I stayed on Mount Gayāśīrṣa, which I had not heard of in former lives, which, indeed, had not been heard of before, which were unknown to me and were, indeed, not known before.

The thought came to me, monks, "I shall live with both body and mind withdrawn from sensual pleasures, and with my thoughts of them, my fondness for them, my feverish longing for them and my attachment to them subdued. Although I undergo unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which torment my soul and my body, I shall be capable of the state of "further men," of knowledge, insight and enlightenment."

Then, monks, with this in view, I withdrew towards Uruvilvā,[1] the village of Senāpati,[2] and reached it. There I saw woods that were delightful, lovely, secluded,[3] sequestered, remote from turmoil, remote from men, and growing in seclusion amid charming lakes. Round about were herdsmen's villages, not too far away nor yet too near, but accessible; a level tract and the river Nairañjanā[4] with its pure water flowing still and clear between beautiful banks.

When I saw all this my mind became exceedingly calm, and

[1] *Uruvelā* in Pali, a locality on the banks of the Nerañjanā, in the neighbourhood of the *bodhi* tree at Buddhagayā.

[2] Senāpatigrāma. In Pali it is Senānīnigāma "the township of Senānī, the father of Sujātā (see p. 126); the place is also called Senāpatigrāma in *Lal. Vist.* 311 (248).

[3] *Prānta,* "edge," "margin," "verge," in Pali (= *panta*) means "distant," "remote," etc. *P.E.D.* cites *Mhvu.* 3. 200.

[4] See Vol. I, p. 5, *n.* 1. The Pali name was Nerañjarā.

I said to myself, "I have had enough of faith,[1] (124) as I am a young noble who has wandered forth to strive.[2] Let me then, here and now, do some striving of my own."

So, monks, I restrained and curbed body and mind with thought. And as I thus restrained and curbed body and mind with thought, perspiration poured out of my armpits[3] and fell hot and steaming to the ground. From my face and my brow the perspiration poured out and fell hot and steaming to the ground. Just as, monks, when a strong man has seized a weaker man by the neck and restrains and curbs him, so, monks, as I restrained body and mind with thought, the perspiration poured out from my armpits, face and brow and fell hot and steaming to the ground.

Then, monks, I said to myself, "Let me now practise the breath-holding meditation.[4]" So, monks, I stopped breathing in and out through the mouth and nostrils. And when I thus stopped breathing in and out through the mouth and nostrils, a loud and great roar rushed within both my ears. Just as when a smith's forge is blown a loud and great roar is set up, so, monks, when I stopped breathing in and out through mouth and nostrils, there rushed through both my ears a loud and great roar.

Then, monks, I said to myself, "Let me now practise the 'breath-holding meditation' to a still greater degree." So, monks, I stopped breathing in and out through mouth, nostrils, and both ears. (125) And when I had thus stopped breathing in and out through mouth, nostrils and both ears, winds beat upon and passed through my skull. Just as, monks, when a butcher or his apprentice with a sharp hatchet rends, splits open, cleaves, pierces and penetrates a cow's skull, in just the same way, monks, when I had

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[1] *I.e.* in the doctrines of other teachers such as Ārāḍa and Udraka.

[2] *Prahāṇa*, BSk., with the same meaning as Pali *padhāna* (< *pra-dhā*), but regarded as being from *pra-hṛi*, for immediately following it is cognate accusative with *praharati*, in the phrase equivalent to Pali *padhānaṃ padahati*.

[3] *Kacchā*, Pali = Sk. *kakṣā*.

[4] *Āsphānaka* (sc. *dhyāna*), in Pali *jhāna appānaka* (cf. *M.* I. 242). The *P.E.D.* spells the Pali *appāṇaka*, which it derives from *a-prāṇa-ka* "breathless" but in view of the BSk. form it questions whether the Pali form should not be taken rather as being for *a-prāṇaka*.

stopped breathing in and out through my mouth, nostrils and both ears, winds beat upon and wracked[1] my skull.

Then, monks, I said to myself,[2] "There are people here who, prescribing what is pure, make their meals of jujube fruit and of jujube bark; they drink water in which jujube has been boiled and subsist on these and various other confections of jujube. Let me now, then, take one single jujube fruit[3] for my meal." So, monks, I took one single jujube fruit for my meal. Then this body of mine became exceedingly lean. Like the joints of creeping plants[4] did my limbs become. My buttocks[5] became like a goat's or a buffalo's hoof. Just as in a tumble-down stable the rafters within[6] on both sides are uncovered[7] and stand revealed and disclosed, so did my gaunt ribs stand out revealed and disclosed. Like the plaits

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[1] *Samūhensu* which Senart takes as being from *sam-ūh*—"to bring together," "se réunir," "se précipiter en foule." This, however, does not give good sense here. The verb is rather to be emended into *samūhanensu* and analysed into *samūhanati* = Pali for *ud-han* "distort," "shake up," which is the verb in the corresponding context in *M.* 1. 243.

[2] Cf. *M.* 1. 80 and 246.

[3] *Kolakamadvitīyaṃ*—"a jujube without a second one."

[4] *Kālaparvāṇi*. *Kāla* here must stand for *kālavallī* "a kind of creeper" (*Vism.* 36, 183). On pp. 126 and 129, in the same simile, *aśītakaparvāṇi* and *aśītaparvāṇi*, respectively, are used; *aśīta*(*ka*) being the name of a creeper (Pali *āsītika*). The corresponding Pali simile (*M.* 1. 80, 245) reads *āsītikapabbāni vā kālāpabbāni vā*, which *MA.* (*i.e. Papañcasūdanī*, 2. 49) explains thus: *yathā āsītika valliyā va kāḷavalliyā vā*, *i.e.* like the *āsītika* creeper and the *kāla* creeper. Lord Chalmers (*Further Dial.* 1. 56), therefore, gives expression to more than is explicitly stated in the text, when he translates "like the knotted joints of withered creepers." On p. 231 of our text the Bodhisattva's limbs are compared to the *kālāśītaka*, where the names of the two creepers seem to form a compound denoting one. Cf. *Lal. Vist.* 319, 321 *kālāśītaka*.

[5] Senart reads *parśukā*, "ribs," but describes his reading as "une correction assez désesperée." Read rather *āniśadaṃ* which may be supplied from the *anuśīdana* of one MS. *M.* 1. 80 has *ānisadaṃ*.

[6] *Gopānasīye antarāṇi*. If this reading is correct the words can only mean "what is within the rafter," but the point is that the rafters themselves were, like the ribs, visible. On p. 127 we have *gopānasīantarāṇi*, but, perhaps, the best reading would be *gopānasīyo antarāṇi*, with the two words in apposition, "the rafters, the things within."

[7] *Vivaṭa*. Cf. Pali *vivaṭa* = *vivṛita*, "uncovered." The regular Sanskrit *vivṛita* is used in the same sentence of the uncovered, "tumble-down" stable, but in the repetitive passages on pp. 127, 128, and 129 the form used is *vivaṭa*. On p. 125 the condition of the ribs is described by *vibaddha*, translated "gaunt." In the other passages the state of the rafters, stable, and ribs is described indifferently by *vivaṭa*, but "gaunt" is retained throughout in translating to describe the last.

in a braid of hair[1] curving this way and that were my spinal vertebrae, (**126**) curving this way and that. Just as in the last month of summer the stars reflected far down, deep in the water of a well appear dim to the sight, so my eyes, buried far down deep in their sockets, could only with difficulty be seen. Just as an autumnal gourd plucked when unripe becomes withered, shrivelled and shrunk, so did my scalp become withered, shrivelled and shrunk. I would try, monks, to grasp the front of my body, but it would be my backbone that I held in my grasp. I would try, monks, to stand erect, and immediately I would tumble forwards in a heap. Then, monks, having after vain endeavour[2] stood up well and properly, I would chafe my rib-like limbs with my hands. But then the hairs on my body, rotten at the roots, fell off.[3]

All this became known[4] in the provinces and hamlets, and women and men talked about it, now saying that the recluse Gotama was black, now that he was dark brown, and now that he had the sallow colour of a *madgura*.[5] So ruined by my austere abstinence was the wonted bright and pure complexion of my body.

Then, monks, I said to myself, "There are some worthy recluses[6] and brāhmans who prescribe purity on a diet of rice. They feed on rice and ground rice, drink rice-gruel, and in short subsist on various kinds of rice concoctions. Let me now then make my meal one single grain of rice."

And, monks, while I thus fed myself on one single grain of rice, this body of mine became exceedingly lean. Like the joints of creeping plants[7] did my limbs, great and small, become. Just as (**127**) in a tumble-down stable the rafters within on both sides are uncovered and stand revealed and disclosed,

[1] *Vaṭṭanavenī*. The corresponding Pali (*M*. I. 80) has *vaṭṭanā-vaḷī*. *Vaṭṭanā* is found only in this compound, which means "a line or chain of balls." But the Pali form is uncertain wherever it is found. (See *P.E.D.* for references.) Perhaps the *Mhvu*. form is here the more correct, *vaṭṭana* (= *vṛittana*) being simply "turning" and defined by *unnatāvanatā* "up and down," "this way and that."

[2] *Abhisaṃskāreṇa*.

[3] *Śīryensu*, pass. of *sṛī*.

[4] Text *jitaṃ*. ? *sic* for *jñātaṃ*. On page 127 a variant reading is *jinaṃ* (!).

[5] "A species of fish," "a kind of sheat-fish." The corresponding term in *M*. I. 246 is *mangura* which may be a form of *mangula*, "sallow." (See *P.E.D*.) Lord Chalmers translates "dusky like a fish."

[6] Cf. *M*. I. 80.

[7] See p. 121 *n*. 4.

so did my gaunt ribs within stand revealed and disclosed. The sides of my bust became extremely hard, like a goat's or a buffalo's hoof. Like the plaits in a braid of hair, curving this way and that, were my spinal vertebrae. Just as in the last month of summer the stars reflected far down deep in the water of a well appear dim to the sight, so my eyes, buried far down deep in their sockets, could only with difficulty be seen. Just as an autumnal gourd plucked when unripe becomes withered, shrivelled and shrunk, so did my scalp become withered, shrivelled and shrunk. I would try, monks, to grasp the front part of my body, but it would be my backbone that I held in my grasp. I would try, monks, to stand erect, and immediately I would tumble forwards in a heap. Then, monks, having after vain endeavour stood up well and properly, I would chafe my rib-like limbs with my hand. But then the hairs on my body, rotten at the roots, fell off.

Now all this became known[1] in the herdsmen's villages around, and women and men talked about it, now saying that the recluse Gotama was black, now that he was dark-brown, and now that he had the sallow colour of a *madgura*. So ruined by my austere abstinence was the wonted bright and pure complexion of my body.

Then, monks, I said to myself, "There are some worthy recluses and brāhmans (**128**) who prescribe purity on a diet of sesamum. They eat sesamum and ground sesamum, drink water in which ground sesamum has been boiled, and, in short, subsist on various preparations of sesamum. Let me now, then, make my diet one single sesamum seed."

Then, monks, while I lived on one single sesamum seed this body of mine became exceedingly lean. Like the black and shrivelled joints of creeping plants did my limbs, great and small, become. My jaw became like a goat's or a baffalo's hoof. Just as in a tumble-down stable the rafters within on both sides are uncovered and stand revealed and disclosed, so did my gaunt ribs within stand revealed and disclosed. Like the plaits in a braid of hair, curving this way and that, were my spinal vertebrae. Just as in the last month of summer the stars reflected far down deep in the water of a

[1] *Jitam*, again ! See p. 122, *n*. 4.

well appear dim to the sight, so my eyes, buried far down deep in their sockets, could only with difficulty be seen. Just as an autumnal gourd plucked when unripe becomes withered, shrivelled and shrunk, so did my scalp become withered, shrivelled and shrunk. I would try, monks, to grasp the front part of my body, but it would be my backbone that I held in my grasp. I would try, monks, to stand erect, and immediately I would fall forwards in a heap. Then, monks, having after vain endeavour stood up well and properly, I would chafe my rib-like limbs with my hand. But then the hairs on my body, rotten at the roots, fell off.

(**129**) Now all this became known[1] in the herdsmen's villages around, and women and men talked about it, now saying that the recluse Gotama was black, now that he was dark-brown and now that he had the sallow colour of a *madgura*. So ruined by my austere abstinence was the wonted bright and pure complexion of my body.

Then, monks, I said to myself, " There are some worthy recluses and brāhmans who prescribe purity by means of complete abstinence from food. Let me now, then, practise complete abstinence from food."

And then, monks, as I practised complete abstinence from food this body of mine became exceedingly lean. My limbs, great and small, became like the joints of creeping plants.[2] My jaw became like a goat's or a buffalo's hoof. Just as in a tumble-down stable the rafters within on both sides are uncovered and stand revealed and disclosed, so did my gaunt ribs within stand revealed and disclosed. Like the plaits in a braid of hair, curving this way and that, were my spinal vertebrae. Just as in the last month of summer the stars reflected far down deep in the water of a well appear dim to the sight, so my eyes buried far down deep in their sockets could only with difficulty be seen. Just as an autumnal gourd plucked when unripe becomes withered, shrivelled and shrunk, so did my scalp become withered, shrivelled and shrunk. I would try, monks, to grasp the front part of my body but it would be my back-bone that I held in my grasp. (**130**) I would try, monks, to stand erect, and immediately

[1] *Jitaṃ* again! See note above p. 122, *n*. 4.
[2] See p. 121, *n*. 4.

I fell forwards in a heap. And when, after vain endeavour, I did stand erect well and properly, I would chafe my rib-like limbs with my hand. But then, monks, the hairs on my body, rotten at the roots, fell off.

Now all this became known[1] in the herdsmen's villages around, and women and men talked about it, now saying that the recluse Gotama was black, now that he was dark-brown, and now that he had the sallow colour of a *madgura*. So ruined by my austere abstinence was the wonted bright and pure complexion of my body.

Then, monks, I said to myself, " Those worthy recluses and brāhmans who undergo unpleasant, bitter, cruel, and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies do so to gain perfection, but in no wise do they attain it. Those worthy recluses and brāhmans who have in the past undergone, as well as those who now undergo, unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which assail their souls and their bodies, have done so, and do so, to gain perfection, but in no wise have they attained it.

" Neither I, also, with all this practice of austerities am aware of the state of " further men," which enables one to realise the distinct achievement[2] of truly Āryan knowledge and insight. This is not the way to enlightenment. But I remember how, long since, before I had gone forth to the religious life, I was seated cross-legged on the ground in my Śākyan father's garden in the cool shade of a rose-apple tree. There I entered and abode in the first meditation[3], which is aloof from sensual desires and from sinful and wicked states of mind, is accompanied by applied and sustained thought, is born of solitude and is full of zest and ease. Could this, I wondered, be the way to enlightenment ? "

And, monks, while I was thus indulging that memory,[4]

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[1] *Jitaṃ* again ! See note above p. 122.

[2] *Viśeṣādhigama*, Pali *visesādhigama*.

[3] *Dhyāna*, Pali *jhāna*, see Vol. I, p. 183. *f*, and notes there, especially on the minor differences between the *Mhvu*. and Pali descriptions.

[4] The text, as printed, reads, *tasya me bhikṣavo vasato tadanusāri vijñānaṃ*. Senart can make no sense out of *vasato* ; but the whole phrase should, probably, be amended on the analogy of the corresponding Pali phrase at *M*. I. 246, *tassa mayham satānusāri*. Read, therefore, *tasya me bhikṣavo eva smṛitasya tadanusāri vijñānaṃ*, "while I was thus mindful the knowledge followed." It is easy to see how *vasato* could arise from an original *eva satassa* (Pali for *smṛitasya*).

there came to me as a result the conviction that this was the way to enlightenment. But this way could not be won when the body was emaciated, weak, distressed and fasting. So I said to myself, "Let me now, then (**131**) take a hearty meal [of boiled rice and junket "][1].

[At that time some devas were[2]] on a visit[3] to me [and they said] " You can live in full consciousness in spite of this hard striving,[4] for we shall make you absorb divine strength through the pores of your hair."

Then, monks, I said to myself, " Now I have at all times approved of complete abstention from food, and women and men in the herdsmen's villages around take it that the recluse Gotama is an abstainer. And yet these devas, although themselves intent upon and devoted to austerity,[5] would infuse divine strength in me through the pores of my hair." Thus I would be guilty of a deliberate falsehood. And as, monks, I abhor deliberate falsehood, I decided that I would avoid it, loathing it as I did, and that I would rebuff those devas, and take a hearty meal of what I liked.

And so, monks, I made a meal of soup of beans, pulse,[6] and peas. Then, after I had gradually won back power and strength of body, I received sweet milk-rice from Sujātā,[7] the daughter of a village overseer, and at night, towards daybreak,[8] I made my way to the river Nairañjanā. When I had cooled my limbs in the river Nairañjanā I went to Svastika Yāvasika.[9] I begged of him a handful of grass, and

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[1] Lacuna in text, but *odanakulmāṣa* supplied after *M.* I. 247, *odanakummāsaṃ*.

[2] Lacuna in text, but *devatā honti evaṃāhaṃsu* can be supplied from the text below.

[3] *Praticāra*, Pali *paṭicāra*, but, Senart prints with a (?).

[4] *Lūha* " coarse," " hard," austere, etc., + *prahāna* = Pali *padhāna*. See note above, p. 63.

[5] *Lūhādhimuktā lūhabhiprasannā.*

[6] *Kulaccha* = *kulattha*. Senart compares *icchatva* for *itthatva* in Vol. I, p. 53 (text).

[7] In the Pali texts the daughter of Senānī, a landowner of the village of Senāni, near Uruvelā. In the Pali tradition (*J.* I. 68. *f.*) she is said to have brought the offering to Gotama under the impression that he was the god of the banyan-tree, to whom she had vowed a meal of rice-milk in return for the birth of a son.

[8] *Nāganandīkālasamaya.* Although difficult to explain, *nāganandī* as epithet of night must mean something similar to *nandīmukhī* (Pali *id.*), which we have already met with in Vol. I, p. 229 (text), and which occurs again below pp. 133, 264 (text).

[9] The Sotthiya of *J.* I. 70. See *D.P.N.* for further references.

then made my way to the *bodhi* tree. In front of the *bodhi* tree I made a couch with some straw on the top, and then walked round the *bodhi* tree three times, keeping it to my right. Then I sat down cross-legged, facing the east, holding my body upright before it,[1] and set up mindfulness in front of me.[2]

Thus, monks, I entered and abode in the first meditation, which is aloof from sensual pleasures and from sinful and wicked states of mind, is accompanied by applied and sustained thought, is born of solitude, and is full of zest and ease. Through the suppression of applied and sustained thought, through inward tranquillity, and through fixing my mind on one point, I entered and abode in the second meditation, which is free of applied and (**132**) sustained thought, is born of concentration and is full of zest and ease. Becoming indifferent to the passion of zest I abode mindful and self-possessed, experiencing in my body that ease of which the Āryans say, "He that is indifferent and mindful dwells at ease." Thus I entered and abode in the third meditation. Putting away ease, putting away ill, routing the feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction which I was wont to feel, I entered and abode in the fourth meditation, which is utter purity of equanimity and mindfulness and is aloof from ease and ill.

Then, monks, with heart thus composed [purified, cleansed,[3] without blemish, rid of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, I, in the first watch of the night turned and applied my mind to the acquirement of the sight of the deva-eye].[4] With my deva eye, clear-sighted beyond the range of human vision, I beheld beings passing away and coming to birth again, beings fair and foul, beings fortunate and unfortunate, beings high and low. I recognised how

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[1] *Purimaṃ kāyam praṇidhāya, i.e.* before (*purimam*) the tree.

[2] *Pratimukhāṃ smṛitiṃupasthāpayitvā* = Pali *parimukhaṃ satiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā*. See e.g. *S.* 1. 170; *M.* 3. 89; *Manual of a Mystic*, 1, and *Vbh.* 252. The last says that the phrase means putting mindfulness (*sati*) either at the tip of the nose or in the image of the mouth (*nāsīkāgge vā mukhanimitte vā*), and Miss I. B. Horner, in a note to the translator, suggests that it means squinting slightly with the eyes turned towards the tip of the nose, which would restrict the field of vision.

[3] The passage in brackets represents a lacuna in the text, but the translation is supplied from the repetition below, and parallel passages elsewhere.

[4] See Vol. I, pp. 125, 201 *n*.

beings fared in accordance with their karma. Here were beings who had been addicted to evil conduct in deed, who scoffed at the Āryans and held wrong beliefs. And in retribution of the karma of wrong belief, for that cause and reason, they were, after separation from the body at death, reborn in the hells, in states of woe, misery and desolation. Here, again, were beings given to good conduct in deed and in thought, who were not scoffers of the Āryans, and who held right beliefs. And these, according to the karma of right belief, for that cause and reason, were, after separation from the body at death, reborn in a state of bliss in heaven among the devas.

Then, monks, with heart thus composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, rid of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, I, in the middle watch of the night, turned and applied my mind to the knowledge and discernment of recollecting my former lives. I called to mind my various lives in the past, for example, one birth, two births, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty (**133**), forty, fifty, hundred and a thousand ; I called to mind many a *kalpa* of the world's evolution,[1] many a *kalpa* of its dissolution,[2] and many a *kalpa* of both evolution and dissolution. There, such and such was my name, such and such my clan, my family, my diet, the term of my life, and the joys and sorrows I experienced. Then from that life I passed away, and was reborn in such and such a place. Thence passing away I was reborn in this world. Thus did I recall to mind my various lives in the past in all their details and features.

Then, monks, with heart thus composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, rid of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, I, in the last watch of the night, towards break of day in the flush of dawn,[3] awoke by insight that came in a flash of thought, to all that an elephant-man,[4] a lion-man, a bull-man, a terrible man, a sterling man, a lotus of a man, a white lotus of a man, a true man, a superman,

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[1] *Saṃvartakalpa*. See Vol. I, p. 43, *n*. 2.

[2] *Vivartakalpa*. *Ibid*.

[3] *Nandīmukhāyāṃ rajanyāṃ*. See Vol. 1, p. 185, *n*. 1, and above p. 126, *n*. 8.

[4] For these expressions see Vol. 1, p. 185, *n*. 2.

a peerless driver of tameable men, a man of right conduct, a mindful man, an intelligent man, a steadfast man, a man of light, has always and everywhere to know, attain and, perfectly comprehend, namely, the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.

Thus did the Exalted One speak, and the enraptured monks rejoiced at what he had said.

THE DREAMS OF ŚUDDHODANA AND OTHERS

Now Śuddhodana had a dream :—

My son, in a dream I saw an elephant emerging from a bath of precious stones, all covered in a net-work of jewels. In the middle of the city it stayed in its course, and then, trembling ran out of the city through the night.

And when I saw this in my dream I was moved to great laughter, and unrestrained weeping too. My body trembled and was disturbed by torments and inward fevers. **(134)** *For what, I wondered, might be toward that day?*

Then the Guardians of the World[1] *said to the chief of men, "Fear not, O king, but be thrilled with joy. Come, hear what the true significance of your dream is. It means that one is arisen who will bring an awakening to the great multitude.*

"He, the possessor of great virtue, renouncing his kingdom, his four female companions[2] *and his prosperous folk, unheeding its fair power, will undoubtedly go away from your fair city. Let this be known.*

"By his going forth he will overcome the many forms of ill. That is the true meaning of your laughing in your dream. As for your weeping in your dream, it means that unending bliss will be theirs who hearken to the Conqueror, the vanquisher of his foes.

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 25, *n.* 3.

[2] *Dutiyā*, Pali for Sk. *dvitīyā*. Cf. *V.* 4, 225, 230, 270, 297, 315. Senart adds that the word bears the same sense in various cave inscriptions in the western parts of India.

His aunt, too, had a dream :—

His aunt said, " My boy, who art beautiful as a mass of gold, in my dream I saw a noble bull, white, with an exceeding lovely hump,[1] *with an extra*[2] *horn, whose very motion spoke of love, and it was sleek of body.*

" The bull bellowed most sweetly, and ran out of Kapilavastu, taking the path his heart was bent on. There is none that can beat his bellowing when he bellows—the noble bull that is like a heap of flowers."

(135) *The lords of the devas said to the piteously weeping king,*[3] *" Do not weep, you whose affection brings joy to the house of Śākya. I shall tell you the truth without guile. Stir up within you the bliss that is born of joy.*

" O valiant king, he who is of exceeding pure conduct, replete with goodness,[4] *intelligent in his ways,*[5] *and devout, a noble lion-man renouncing his folk and leaving his city, desires the state of a bull-man.*

" He, the great seer of clear vision, points out the deathless, immovable, sure, unshakable and peerless nirvana. When they hear the roar of the lion-man, crowds of unbelievers will wander forth in its direction."

Yaśodharā, too, had a dream :—

Then Rāhula's mother, with her heart bound in a passion that was greater than friendship, said, " My lord, hear how I, too, saw a charming vision to-day, and may its realisation also be so to me.

" For, O lord of men, in a moment a cloud engulfed Śuddhodana's palace all around, and a flash of lightning accompanied by thunder and a downpour of rain, repeatedly lit up the three worlds.

(136) *" The cloud, holding an ocean of water, with a soft rumbling sound, shedding rain that was cool and incomparably pure and clear, rained down though it was the*

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[1] Reading *kakudha* (Pali = Sk. *kakuda,* " hump of an Indian bull ") for *kakubha* of the text. One MS. has *kakuda.*

[2] *Atiriktaśṛinga,* cf. *atiriktānga,* " having a redundant limb, finger, or toe."

[3] The devas speak to the king (*rudantaṃ*—masc.).

[4] Reading *śuddhacaraṇo kuśalopeto*, nom., for °*caranaṃ* °*upetaṃ* of the text.

[5] Reading *gatimatimān* for °*matinān* (sic) of the text.

summer season.[1] *And Sahāmpatīka*[2] *also was rendered inwardly glad.*

Then Brahmā came and said to Rāhula's mother, "Listen, be not cast down. This significant dream portends the realisation of your wish. Quickly, therefore, recover your joy.

"This lovely-eyed son of Śuddhodana, like a cloud raining on the three worlds, will bring relief to those who are scorched by the great fires of passion, by bringing to birth immovable dharma, and compassion beyond compare."

The Bodhisattva, also, had five great dreams, which he interpreted to the monks at Śrāvastī after he had attained to the supreme enlightenment.

Monks, said he, before the Tathāgata had awakened to the full enlightenment he saw five great visions in dreams. What five? Monks, before the Tathāgata had awakened to complete enlightenment he dreamt that this great earth was a high vast bed to him. Sumeru, monarch of mountains, was his pillow. His left arm rested in the eastern ocean, his right in the western, and the soles of his two feet in the southern. This, monks, was the first great vision the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment.

(**137**) When the Tathāgata, monks, as yet had not awakened to enlightenment, he dreamt that the grass called *kṣīrikā*[3] sprouted from his navel and reared up to heaven. This, monks, was the second great vision the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment.

When the Tathāgata, monks, as yet had not awakened to enlightenment, he dreamt that reddish creatures with black heads stood covering him from the soles of his feet up to his knee-caps. This, monks, was the third great vision the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment.

When the Tathāgata, monks, as yet had not awakened to enlightenment, he dreamt that four vultures of different colours came flying through the air from the four quarters, and having kissed the soles of his feet went away all white.

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[1] Reading *samaye nidāghe* for *śayane nidāghaṃ* of the text.

[2] Cf. Sahāmpati, p. 60, *n.* 9. But the allusion is by no means obvious. Perhaps we should read instead *mahāpratāpo*, alluding to the 'scorched' nature of the earth before the rain.

[3] Evidently a grass or reed having a milky (*kṣīra*) sap.

This, monks, was the fourth great vision the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment.

When the Tathāgata, monks, as yet had not awakened to enlightenment, he dreamt that he walked to and fro over a great mountain of dung without being soiled by it. This, monks, was the fifth great vision the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment.

When the Tathāgata, monks, as yet had not awakened to enlightenment, he dreamt that this great earth was his high vast bed. Sumeru, monarch of mountains, was his pillow. His left arm rested in the eastern ocean, his right in the western, and the soles of his feet in the southern. Now when the Tathāgata awoke to perfect enlightenment, then was this great dream fulfilled.

Then with regard to the vision of the grass called *kṣīrikā* growing out of his navel and rearing to the sky, which the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment. The Tathāgata, monks, with his higher knowledge of this world, (**138**) of the world beyond, of the deva world, of Māra's world, of Brahmā's world, and of the race of recluses, brāhmans, devas and men, in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣipatana in Benares set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma which is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold[1] and was never set rolling by any recluse, brāhman or deva, nor by Māra or anyone else. Again was he in the world with the dharma which consists of the four Aryan truths, namely, the Aryan truth of ill, the Aryan truth of the origin of ill, the Aryan truth of the cessation of ill, and the Aryan truth of the way that leads to the cessation of ill.

And monks, when the devas of earth heard the proclamation of such dharma by the Tathāgata they raised a shout, saying to one another, " Lo, friend, the Exalted One, in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣipatana in Benares, has set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma which is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold and which

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[1] *Trisparivartaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ*. At *V*. I. 11 *tiparivaṭṭaṃ dvādasākāraṃ* are epithets of *ñāṇadassanaṃ*, " knowledge and insight," *i.e.* into the four Aryan truths, and are to be explained by the number and character of the precedent conditions to, or stages in, the acquirement of that knowledge and insight. *Ñāṇadassana* is practically equivalent in this connection to dharma as defined immediately below. Hence our text applies the epithets to the *dharmacakra*, a symbol of the dharma.

has never been set rolling by any recluse, brāhman, deva, by Brahmā, Māra or anyone else. Once more is he in the world with the dharma of what ill is, the origin of ill, the cessation of ill, and the way that leads to the cessation of ill. This will mean the welfare and happiness of the multitude, compassion for the world, the good of the multitude, and the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

When they heard the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of the regions between heaven and earth, the Four Royal devas, the Three and Thirty devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas and the Paranirmittavaśavartin devas[1] all instantaneously raised a shout that reached Brahmā's world, saying to one another, "Lo, friend, in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣipatana in Benares, the Exalted One has set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma, which is thrice-revolved and twelvefold and has never been set rolling by any recluse, brāhman, deva, or by Māra or anyone else. Once more is he in the world with the dharma of what ill is, the origin of ill, the cessation of ill, and the way that leads to the cessation of ill." This was the fulfilment of that great vision.

With regard, monks, to the vision seen by the Tathāgata before he had awakened to enlightenment, wherein reddish creatures with black heads stood covering him (**139**) from the soles of his feet up to his knee-caps. Now, monks, there is a large number of people who have performed acts of service to the Tathāgata, and these on the dissolution of the body at death, will be reborn in the happy bourne, in heaven among the devas. This is the fulfilment of that vision.

With regard, monks, to the vision seen by the Tathāgata before he had awakened to enlightenment, wherein four vultures of different colours came flying through the air from the four quarters, and, having kissed the soles of the Tathāgata's feet, went away all white, these four colours, monks, correspond to the four castes. What four? Kṣatriyas, brāhmans, vaiśyas and śūdras. Those of them who live the holy life steadfastly[2] under[3] the Tathāgata realise deliverance of heart and emancipation through wisdom. This is the realisation of that great vision.

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[1] For these devas see Vol. 1, p. 34, *n*. 2. Cf. also *V*. 3. 18 *f*.
[2] *Akopya*, Pali *akuppa*, *a* + gerundive of *kup*.
[3] Literally " in the Tathāgata," simply, *Tathāgatae*.

With regard, monks, to the vision seen by the Tathāgata before he had awakened to enlightenment, wherein he walked to and fro over a mountain of dung without being soiled by it. Now the Tathāgata while he tarries in the east is there honoured, revered, esteemed, worshipped, and respected. He receives the requisites of robes, almsbowl, bed, seat and medicines for use in sickness. He is free from attachment[1] and infatuation[2], and his heart is untainted. While he tarries in the south the Tathāgata is there also honoured, revered, esteemed, worshipped, and respected. He receives the requisites of robes, almsbowl, bed, seat and medicines for use in sickness. He is free from attachment and infatuation, and his heart is untainted. While the Tathāgata tarries in the west he is there also honoured, revered, esteemed, worshipped and respected. He receives the requisites of robes, almsbowl, bed, seat and medicines for use in sickness. He is free from attachment and infatuation, and his heart is untainted. While the Tathāgata tarries in the north, he is there also honoured, revered, esteemed, worshipped and respected. He receives the requisites of robes, almsbowl, bed, seat and medicines for use in sickness. He is free from attachment and infatuation, and his heart is untainted.

That, monks, is the realisation of the great vision the Tathāgata saw before he had awakened to enlightenment.

Thus did the Exalted One speak, and the enraptured monks rejoiced at what he said.

(**140**) Here end the five great visions of Śuddhodana.[3]

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION AGAIN[4]

Now the thought occurred to the Bodhisattva: "It is difficult for me to live the holy life that is utterly bright,[5] blameless,

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[1] *Anadhyavasita*, cf. Pali *ajjhosita*.

[2] *Anadhimūrchita* (v.l. °*mūcchita*), cf. Pali *adhimuccita* and *adhimucchita*, "either *adhi* + *muc or mūrch*; it would seem more probable to connect it with the former, cf. *adhimuccati* and consider all vv. ll. °*mucchita* as spurious: but in view of the several passages we have to assume a regular analogy from °*mucchitā*, cf. *mucchati*, and see also *J.P.T.S.* 1886, 109" (*P.E.D.*). The form in our text would seem to confirm this assumption.

[3] *Sic.*

[4] *I.e.* another account of it.

[5] Reading *śankhalikhhiṭa* for *saṃlikhhita*, see above, p. 114, *n*. 3.

pure, and clean, while I dwell at home. Let me then go forth from home into the homeless state."

So the Bodhisattva told the king that he was going to take up the religious life. The king replied :—

Pray do not do so, my lotus-eyed and charmingly beautiful son. Great grief would I suffer if I were bereft of you.

Your mother as well as I would go to unwelcome death. What sort of special bliss is this then, that for its sake you would leave me, your people and your kingdom?

For all the regions[1] *look wild*[2], *all being tracts of earth which are now cold, now hot, and infested by gadflies and mosquitos. You will be affrighted*[3] *in the fearful woods where are wild beasts that slay and the terrible cries of jackals.*

Meanwhile, with the thought of achieving deliverance constantly in mind,[4] *live the way your father lived, my son, and be content, as long I as live or as long as she, your mother, will live. For seeing*[5] *you go away, of a surety I will die.*

(**141**) The king then sent a message to five hundred kings, saying, " Come, the prince is eager to leave home." They came and in many ways they implored the prince not to leave home.

But the Bodhisattva said to the king, his father, and the other kings, " If your majesty will give me an assurance[6] on four points, I promise you, sire, that I shall not leave this fair city.' The king replied, " I will assure you on the four points. Quickly tell me what they are, or soon the life-breath will leave me."

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[1] *I.e.*, to which you are going.

[2] *Paryākulā mi diśatā pratibhānti sarve,* where *mi* is unintelligible. Is it a mistake for *hi*, " for " ?

[3] *Traso.* Or read *trāso* " (there is) terror." Two MSS. have *trosau* and *trāsau*, respectively.

[4] *Nityāntareṇa manasā kṛitamokṣabuddhi :* The first word is difficult, but Senart says that the reading appears certain. He, however, takes *nitya* " permanent " as the equivalent of *nirvāṇa* and *antara* as meaning " obstacle," and translates " appliquant à l'idée de la délivrance ton esprit (jusqu' à présent) tenu à l'écart du nirvāṇa." This is somewhat strained, and it seems simpler to keep to the literal sense of *nitya* and *antareṇa*.

[5] *Niśāmya,* " observing," Pali *nisamma.*

[6] *Pratibhuko bhavati,* " be a surety." Below on the same page we have the regular form *pratibhū.*

The prince said :—

"Now I am in my youth; let old age never come upon me. Now I am in health; let disease never come upon me.

"Now I am in life; let death never come upon me. Now I am in joyous prosperity; let adversity never come upon me."

Then the hosts of devas cried "Bravo! bravo! Hail, hail, Great Being, hail incomparable Man."

Brahmā's company were all thrilled, elated, filled with joy and gladness at these eloquent words.

But King Śuddhodana, stung by sorrow's shaft[1] *and with his eyes full of tears, said to the Bodhisattva :—*

"My son, you know yourself why this is not possible. Old age, disease, death and misfortune are not in my province."

The prince said :—

"Come then, let your majesty assure me on three points. Then there will be for you no separation at all from me."

(**142**) The king replied :—

"I give you, son, an assurance[2] *on these points. Therefore turn away the desire of your heart and stay with him who speaks to you."*[3]

The prince said :—

"Let me have the modes of the pleasures of sense[4] *which are enjoyed by devas; let them be always agreeable, and permanently pleasant. Assure me of this.*

"Let Apsarases, wearing fine anklets, ornaments and jewels, sing in the air around me, sweetly, intelligibly, exquisitely, sweetly,[5] *joyously,*[6] *and harmoniously."*

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[1] *Duhkhaśalya.* Cf. the use of *salla* in Pali. See *P.E.D.* where reference is made to the seven stings enumerated at *Nd.* 59, *rāgasalla, dosa°, moha°, māna°, diṭṭhi°, soka°*, and *kathankathā°*.

[2] *Pratibhutā*, the abstract noun from *pratibhū, pratibhuka*, above.

[3] *Mūle udāharato bhava.* But the text is very doubtful. Senart says of it, "*bhava* est si faible et cet emploi de *udāharati* si forcé, que je ne crois guère à l'exactitude du texte."

[4] *Kāmaguṇās*, usually five, *i.e.* the pleasures provided by the five senses. See above p. 113.

[5] *Madhuraṃ* repeated. Senart suggests that the correct reading here or on its first occurrence would be a word denoting "song."

[6] Or "playfully" *salilaṃ* = *salīlaṃ* metri causa. So Senart. Should we take the word as being *salila*, "flowing," *i.e.* eloquently?

Yet the mind of the True Man did not really[1] *find delight in intoxications as his expressed words would imply.*[2] *For he was ready to leave this earth which is like the golden* bimba,[3] *with its store of varied riches.*

The king, in sorrow, said to the prince, " Be content, my son, for your pleasures of sense are already agreeable as well as pleasant."

The prince replied :—

" Come then, great lord, I shall mention two other points. If you wish you can likewise assure me on them."

The king said :—

" Earnestly I promise to assure you on these two points. Tell me what they are, and do not leave me."

The prince replied[4]:—

" O great king, assure me of this, that never will there develop in me, the notions, whether great or little,[5] *of ' I am the doer ' and ' mine is the doer '*[6] *"*

(143) *Then the Maheśvara*[7] *devas standing in the sky poured forth their voices, saying, " Verily, you will become a perfect Buddha, a breaker of all bonds.*

"And why we say this is, that there has been no utterance before in the worlds of devas and men of such words as you in your wisdom have spoken."

Then King Śuddhodana, stung by sorrow's shaft and with his eyes full of tears, said to the Bodhisattva : —

" I know not even the names of these things which you extol, O supreme of men, and I cannot assure you of them."

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[1] *Na khu.* Senart suggests that this verse looks like an interpolation to tone down the apparent desire of the Bodhisattva for sensual pleasures. But Miss I. B. Horner makes the interesting suggestion that it is, on the contrary, very much to the point, stressing as it does the humanity of the Bodhisattva in having known the temptation of desire.

[2] *Yāvadṛiśamudāharati*—" in the way he expressed it."

[3] See p. 40, *n.* 8.

[4] Omitted in text.

[5] Reading *mahantaṃ* and *alpaṃ* for *mahanto* and *alpo*.

[6] The rendering of *ahaṃkāra* and *mamakāra* has been adopted from *The Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha, presented by* A. K. Coomaraswamy and I. B. Horner, pp. 162, 3, where will be found a representative selection of passages from Pali texts, in which the notions denoted by the terms are condemned as wrong and harmful.

[7] See Vol. 1, p. 178, *n.* 2.

The prince said :—

" Enough of this dallying.[1] *Assure me on one point only. Then shall I live on in pleasant Kapilavastu."*

The king replied[2]:—

" I shall then, my son, I shall assure you on the one point. Speak quickly and acquaint me with what you have in mind."[3]

The prince replied :—

" Even while I dwell in this fair worldly palace, let my heart, freed of all hindrances, be in my own power."

Thereupon devas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas and Dānavas[4] *and the crowds of Nāgas and Rākṣasas cried out, " Behold the dharma!*[5]

" Behold of a sudden there have been clearly manifested the consummate words of him whose eloquence is perfect and whose desire is for the highest good."

Then the dejected king said to the prince, " I have no control over that,"[6] *and he shed a flood of tears.*

The Bodhisattva, making a solemn utterance that brought joy to devas and men, (**144**) *and at the same time addressing his father, said :*

" O chief of princes, I shall go and find the deathless[7] *that knows no old age or disease, is free of disaster and fear and unconditioned.*

" O king, I must attain for myself what is permanent, blissful, and fair. There is no doubt of this. So though you let me go, be of good courage."

Then King Śuddhodana, seeing what the prince was thinking about in the rose-apple tree's shade, embarked upon a sea of

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[1] Literally, " enough of (being) a long time," *alaṃ cireṇa.*

[2] Omitted in text.

[3] *Brūhi upagataṃ mayā saha.* Senart interprets *upagataṃ* on the analogy of *abhyupagata = cittaṃabhyupagata,* e.g. Vol. 1, p. 72 ; *mayā saha*—'along with me,' i.e. speak (and) share with me.

[4] See Vol. I, p. 55, *n.* 2.

[5] *Aho dharmaṃ.* See Vol. 1, p. 192, *n.* 4.

[6] Reading *nātravaśo* for *nātrāvaso* of the text. Two MSS. have *nātravaso.*

[7] *Amṛitaṃ, i.e.* Nirvāṇa. For this description of Nirvana, cf. *M.* 1. 167.

anxious thought. "Since," thought he, "the prince finds delight in these tranquil meditations, I must see to it that the proclamation of Asita[1] the seer does not turn out true. What if I were now to provide the prince with spacious quarters for his women, and construct various parks wherein the prince may divert, enjoy and amuse himself and not set his heart on leaving home?"

And so Śuddhodana provided the prince with spacious quarters for his women, supplied him with thousands of women, made him variegated parks with cool arbours, and draped with festoons of fine cloth and strewn with heaps of flowers, that the prince might divert, enjoy and amuse himself and not set his heart on leaving home. And King Śuddhodana enjoined upon the women that they should keep the prince well entertained with dance and music and song, so that he should not set his heart on leaving home.

But the prince knew the perils of the pleasures of sense and he found no profit in the enjoyment of any of them. He found no delight in such parks, even though they were like the parks in the abodes of devas, nor in the harem that was like a harem of Apsarases. Rather he delighted his heart with the thought of leaving home. The Bodhisattva needed no one to tell him that the round of rebirth was an ill. Master over all conditions, he became free of passion by his own[2] efforts and the stirring of his own heart. Yea, he showed that rebirth was by its very nature limitless woe and involved hundreds of misfortunes.

(145) The prince went up to his upper chamber and entered it. He sat down and applied his mind to the same meditation that he had achieved in the rose-apple tree's shade. He did not enjoy the sounds of song and dance nor the lovely crowds of women. So deep in thought was he.

Then King Śuddhodana asked a certain man, "How is this, my man? The prince hears the sound of song, of dance, of drum, tabour, lyre, flute and cymbal in the harem. What, then, is the melancholy in the prince's heart?" But then the female deva that dwells in the Lumbinī grove,[3] hovering in the air, said to King Śuddhodana, "Your majesty, reflect about your son.

[1] See p. 37.
[2] *Svayameva sāmato*, where *sāmato* is the equivalent of *sāmaṃ*.
[3] See Vol. 1, p. 78, *n.* 1.

For he has no passion for the joys of any of the senses. Ere long he will break all the bonds of craving and leave none remaining. He will go off to the forest of penance, and will develop his thought which is as yet quite limited.[1] And now, O king, Siddhārtha, though of royal lineage and surrounded in his beautiful palace by a throng of women, reviles what in his body is impermanent, ill, and unsubstantial."[2]

King Śuddhodana, having heard this from the female deva, with downcast countenance and stricken with grief, went to the prince and said to him, "Why have you come in here with downcast countenance and stricken with grief?[3] Can it be that you have witnessed some affliction of body or have discovered any loss of wealth, or that the fear of an enemy has come over you? Tell me quickly, my son, what the meaning of this is."

The prince replied, "Yes, father, I do see affliction of the body. Disease presses close upon health, and death upon life. And, father, I consider an old man as but another dead man.[4] All the *saṃskāras*[5] pass away, and the tumbling mountain stream, the things that are solid as the best iron, the cycle of the seasons, and life itself all pass away. Death comes on. Father, it is this affliction of the physical body that I see. Yes, father, I see the decay of wealth. Everything is empty, void,

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[1] The text has *suparīttam bhāvayiṣyati.* Senart, citing Childers s.v. *paritto*, assumes that the allusion is to a *dhyāna* (*jhāna*) so called. It is true that *paritta* is applied to the first *jhāna* at *Dhs.* 181, but it is only by way of a descriptive adjective, "limited" or "restricted." It is far from certain, therefore, that the allusion is to a particular mode of meditation. *Parītta* may quite as well refer here to *citta.* At *A.* 1. 249 we are told that a man "who has not developed his body, morality, thought and wisdom" (*abhāvitakāyo abhāvitasīlo abhāvitacitto abhāvitapañño*) is *paritta* "limited" or "finite," while he who has done so is *aparitta.* Cf. also *M.* 2. 262, *aparittaṃ ca me cittaṃ bhavissati appamāṇaṃ subhāvitam,* a passage which tempts one to think that our text should be emended to read *aparittaṃ* [*cittaṃ*] *subhāvayiṣyati.* The *A.* passage referred to says that the man who has so developed himself is also *mahattā* as well as *aparitta,* so that an alternative supposition is that *suparīttaṃ* in our text refers to *ātma.* But whatever substantive is to be understood, the omission of it is very strange. (The translator is indebted for these suggested interpretations to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[2] *Nairātmya,* abstract noun of **nirātman,* Pali *niratta,* "soulless," "view of soullessness or unsubtantiality."

[3] The application of the same terms to both father and son is rather awkward.

[4] *Jīrṇaṃ mṛitāntaraṃ.* Senart says that one could conceivably emend the second word into *mṛitāntaṃ,* but then one would have to make the unlikely assumption that the two participial adjectives *jīrṇa* and *mṛita* were the equivalent of the abstract *jarā* and *maraṇa,* "old age has death as its end."

[5] See Vol. 1, p. 99, *n.* 1.

vain, illusive, deceptive and false. Wealth has no permanence. (146) It is destroyed or passes from one to another. I see this decay of wealth, father. Yes, I see the fear of an enemy's army, the fear of the corruption of the constituents of the visible creature,[1] the cutting off of hands, ears, and heads, and the various and divers ills which in one way or another befall this body. This fear of an enemy's army do I see, father." King Śuddhodana replied, "Enough, my son, think no more of that. At present you are of tender age, in the bloom of youth. Go and perform your royal duties. You have a spacious harem of young women. With these divert, enjoy and amuse yourself, and set not your heart on leaving home to become a recluse."

The prince answered, "If you offer me eight boons, then, father, I will no longer harbour this intention in my mind." The King said, "Tell me quickly, my son, what these eight boons are, which you wish for. If they are within my power or strength, then will I grant them to you. Why, my son, I'll abandon my kingdom rather than not grant a boon of yours."

The prince replied, "Grant me, father, these eight boons: that old age does not overtake my youth; that disease does not overtake my health; that death does not take away my life; that I shall not be bereft of your company; that this harem of women like the Apsarases and my numerous kinsfolk do not disappear;[2] that this kingdom and realm experience no reverse or any other evil vicissitude; that those who at my birth were invited to partake of ambrosial joy should all have their lusts quelled, and that for me there be an end of birth, old age and death."

King Śuddhodana replied, "My son, whence have I such might and power that I could grant eight boons such as these? My son, the long-lived kings of yore, Kings Mahāsammata,[3]

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[1] *Dharmasaṃskāra.*

[2] *Vipraveśeyā.* The context shows that this must mean something like "disappear," but it is not easy to see how a compound of *viś*, "to enter" (here causative for primary), even granting a wholly negative force to the prefix *vi-*, can have this sense. The reading may be regarded as highly doubtful. The sense of the context could be secured by the simple emendation into *vipravaseyā* from *vipravasati* (Pali *vippavasati*) "to be away from home," "be absent," hence "to disappear." This suggested emendation is due to Miss I. B. Horner, who compares *V*. 3. 197, *ticīvarena vippavaseyya* "(if a monk) should be separated from his three robes." See her *Book of the Discipline*, 2, pp. 13, 14.

[3] The founder of the Śākyan royal family. See Vol. 1, p. 293.

Mahātejas, Dṛiḍhadhanu, Śatadhanu, Niśāntāyus, Yugandhara and the others, (**147**) a noble line of kings, all these, my son, through the force of impermanence, were brought to their end, leaving but their names behind them. Whence then, my son, can I have such power or might as to be able to grant you eight such boons ?"

The prince said, "If, father, you cannot grant me these eight boons, I invite you to partake of a state that is the end of old age and death."[1]

The king replied, "I am old and advanced in years. My youth is past. Therefore wait till I am dead before you leave home."

The prince said, "Be exultant, father. If you live, you will again see me return here released from rebirth into any bourne, having cut off all craving, rid myself of all ill, overcome all fiery lusts,[2] and realised the treasures of all the *bodhyangas*."[3]

Then the king showed him the crowd of women. "Here is a noble sight for you, my son," said he, "fair, faultless, loving women, with eyes bright as jewels, with full breasts, gleaming white limbs, sparkling gems, firm and fine girdles, soft, lovely and black-dyed hair, wearing bright-red mantles and cloaks, bracelets of gems and necklaces of pearls, ornaments and rings on the toes, and anklets, and playing music on the five musical instruments.[4] Delight yourself with these, my son, and do not yearn for the religious life of a wanderer." The prince said, "See, father, a man may have an awareness of a woman[5]

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[1] The text here reads *te nimantremi jarāmaraṇasya antobhaveyā*, the end of which phrase is, as Senart says, far from clear. *Nimantremi*, of course, takes up the thought of the invitation to the birthday feast referred to above. As it stands the phrase means "I invite you that there be an end of old age and death" but the construction is not easy to understand. As *nimantreti*, "to invite" is used with the instrumental of what one is invited to, it is suggested that the right reading is *antobhāvena*, and this has been adopted for translation.

[2] There is some syntactical incoherence here: *drakṣyasi mama iha sarvagativimuktaṃ . . . sarvajvalākleśāparītasya . . . bhāvayantasya*. We should expect °*paritaṃ . . . bhāvayantaṃ* to agree, as the other participles in the sentence do, with the accusative *mama*. But it would seem that by the end of the sentence this pronoun had come to be felt to be genitive, as from its form it could well be.

[3] *Bodhyanga*, Pali *bojjhanga*, "a factor or constituent of knowledge." Pali texts (cf. *Divy*. 208), give them as seven in number. (See *P.E.D.*) So also p. 301 below.

[4] *Pañcāngikā tūryāni*. See Vol. 1, p. 135, *n*. 2.

[5] Literally, "there may be one having an awareness of a woman," *strīsañjño bhaveya*.

and be excited, disturbed,[1] and intoxicated by it." The king said, "What is your awareness of a woman like?" The prince said, "It is an awareness of contrariety."[2] The king said, "My son, what is your awareness of contrariety like?" The prince said, "It is that of this body[3] which comes and goes where it is fixed; where it stands, sits down; where it is active, is quiet; where it is an external thing,[4] it is void, inactive, strong or weak, a delusion, and untrustworthy—such do they say is the whole totality of things."[5] King Śuddhodana said, "If you are not excited by beauty, are you not then as a man excited by a woman's beauty?[6] What is your view of things?[7]" The prince said, "This, namely, (148) that I characterise the round of life as a play, which, with consciousness[8] as the machine and the feelings as the actors produces its various scenes. The three-fold stage is the condition of men in the different six spheres of existence.[9] There enter upon the stage craving and fond affection, and hundreds of deep-seated lusts.[10] From an infinite time past[11] this play goes on,[12] deceiving, entangling, and destroying. There is no man or body of men who has not been beguiled and deceived by the *saṃskāras*,[13] and so it was among our elders.[14] So, father, lift up your heart, for I shall end this play of recurrent life, and I shall enter the citadel of calm and of Nirvana,[15]

[1] Reading *kampeya* for *kalpeya*.
[2] *Viparītasañjñā*.
[3] Literally, "It is like this body," *yathāyam kāyo*.
[4] The adjectives here become neuter.
[5] *Sarvameva dharmakāyam*. But as *kāya* in the sense of physical body is the topic in this passage, it may be better to read, with one MS., *sarvakāya-dharmam*, "the state or condition of every body."
[6] The reading adopted for translation is based on MSS. C. and B. The text has *kimidaṃ niṣpuruṣeṇa rajyasi*, "therefore (wherefore) you are excited by a woman," which is against the context. The reading adopted is *kimidaṃ puruṣa na niṣpuruṣeṇa rajyasi*. *Niṣpuruṣa* is usually an adjective (see, e.g., Vol. 1, p. 183, *n*. 2) and it is easy to assume that here it qualifies *rūpa* understood from the preceding clause.
[7] Literally, "what view do you discriminate," *kam tvaṃ darśanam-upalakṣayasi*.
[8] *Vijñāna*.
[9] *Gatis*, see Vol. 1, p. 36, *n*. 4.
[10] *Kleśaśatānāṃ gābhīratā*, "the profoundness of hundreds of lusts."
[11] Literally, "the point farthest back is not understood," *purimā koṭi na prajñāyati*. See Vol. 1, p. 98, *n*. 2, and cf. *S*. 2. 178, *pubbākoṭi na paññāyati*.
[12] Literally, "(follows) one after the other," *parasparaṃ*. But there is no verb of any kind!
[13] See Vol. 1, p. 99, *n*. 1.
[14] ? *athāparaṃ gurujaneṣu*.
[15] Cf. *Miln*. 333.

which old age and death do not assail. And so I shall follow the path followed by former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas."[1]

The king said, "My son, here you have a mansion like the abode of a deva. Your palace[2] is magnificent, and you yourself are beautiful, laden with the marks of excellence and with merit. How is it then, my son, that you find no pleasure here, but desire to leave home and abandon the city?"

The prince said:

With a mind awed by the spheres of existence listen, father, while I tell you why I find no pleasure.

Old age and disease, and the enemy death as the third, oppress me; that is why I find no pleasure.

If my self could have continual ease; if my self knew not the power of ill; if there were not all this that rests upon what is conditioned,[3] there would be no reason why I should not find pleasure.[4]

The body is like a serpent's slough; in the body is a serpent's year.[5] (149) *The* skandhas[6] *are like a foe. Then why should I find pleasure?*

If the body were not like a serpent's slough; if in it there were no serpent's year, then there would be no reason why I should not find pleasure.

. . .[7]

If there were no birth, old age and death, then there would be no reason why I should not find pleasure in the round of existence.

If one's lodging were not in the village of the void[8]; if

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[1] Cf. S. 2. 106, *evam eva kvāhaṃ addassaṃ purāṇaṃ maggaṃ purāṇāñjasaṃ pubbakehi sammāsambuddhehi anuyātam . . . tam anugacchim.*

[2] Reading, with one MS., *antaḥpuram* for *antarapuram* of the text.

[3] *Saṃskṛitapratyayam. Saṃskṛita* is Pali *sankhata,* "made up," "conditioned," and therefore transient and impermanent.

[4] Literally, "then why should I have no pleasure?" *atha kisya mamātu* (= *mamāto* = *mama*) *ratir na bhave.*

[5] *Kāye ca sarpasamā.* This figure is obscure. It would be feasible to emend into *kayo ca sarpasamo,* "the body is like a serpent," but this would give merely a weakened repetition of the preceding simile. Besides, in the repetition on the next page we have *tatra* (There = in the body) *sarpasamā.* Probably the allusion is to the hibernating habit of the snake.

[6] See Vol. 1, p. 58, *n.* 3.

[7] This pāda contains too long a lacuna for translation.

[8] No doubt with reference to the figure in S. 4. 174, *suñño gāmo ti kho bhikkhave channaṃ ajjhatikānaṃ adhivacanam,* "the empty village, brethren, is a name for the personal six-fold sense-sphere." Cf. *Vism.* 484.

there were none of that which destroys passionlessness; if there were not the fearful element of the saṃskāras, *then there would be no reason why I should not find pleasure.*

If there were none of this spur to learn[1]*; if there were no fear in the royal palace; if there were not all this fear in the three worlds, then would I have no pleasure in leaving home.*

When he could not by any means dissuade the prince, King Śuddhodana reflected thus: "Since I cannot by any means dissuade the prince, what if I were to display to him all the maidens in Kapilavastu and see whether the heart of the prince would find delight in someone or other of them?[2]

(150) The Bodhisattva told his father that he was going out to the park. Then King Śuddhodana gave orders to his ministers, saying, "See that all the way from the royal palace to the park is sprinkled and swept, overhung with an awning, bordered by bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, made fragrant with incense, and strewn with heaps of flowers. Here and there place receptacles for holding incense and garlands, and station dancers, mimes, athletes,[1] wrestlers, minstrels and drummers and thus provide pleasant sights, sounds and scents, so that the prince on his way from the city to the park may not see anything that is unpleasant."

At the king's word of command the ministers prepared the way from the royal palace to the prince's park in the manner ordered by the king. At intervals they stationed men to see that there should stand in front of the prince as he went to the park no old man or one advanced in years, no one diseased or one-eyed, or lame, no one suffering from leprosy, the itch, scab or eruption on the skin, and that nothing unpleasant should stand before him. Thus, as the prince rode out to the park in a costly equipage glittering with the seven precious

[1] *Śiṣyapratoda.*

[2] Reading *na kvacidanyatarāyām kanyānām*, etc., for *kvacijjanatāyāh kanyānān kumārasya cittaṃ abhiramet.* Senart doubts the correctness of the text reading and is forced to render, "non sans quelque violence," as "pour voir si dans toute la population il n'y aurait pas une jeune fille dont s'éprenne le prince." The suggested emendation, besides retaining the intransitive force of *abhiramet*, allows the straightforward rendering given above.

stones, in great royal pomp, magnificence and splendour, royal servants went as an escort on his left and on his right and took care that the prince should see nothing unpleasant.

While the prince, thus seeing pleasant sights, hearing pleasant sounds, smelling pleasant scents and receiving on both sides, on the left and on the right, a hundred thousand salutations and showers of various powders, was on his way from Kapilavastu to the park, Ghaṭikāra[1] the potter, who had become a Śuddhāvāsa[2] deva, and other Śuddhāvāsa devas conjured[3] up before him an old man. This old man was advanced in years, of great age, a man who had lived his life[4] and had passed his prime. He was hoary-headed; his body was all blotchy. He was bent like the rafters of a roof; stooping forward (**151**) he tottered along with the aid of sticks. When the Bodhisattva saw him he asked his charioteer, "Who is this loathsome old man, who is advanced in years, of great age, who has lived his life and has passed his prime, who is hoary-headed, has his body all blotchy, who is bent like the rafters of a roof and stoops forward as he staggers[5] along with the aid of sticks?"

The charioteer replied, "O prince,[6] what is the man you ask about to you? For he is an old man whose life is spent. Let us go on to the park, and let your royal highness divert, enjoy and amuse himself with the five pleasures of sense." But the prince said, "My dear charioteer, mark this. We too are liable to old age. We have not passed beyond liability to old age. Verily, when old age is seen to be the lot of every man that is born what pleasure can there be to a discerning man?" And he added, "Charioteer, turn the chariot round. No more going to the park for me."

The prince returned and came to his home. King Śuddhodana asked his ministers, "Sirs, why has the prince returned instead of going on to the park?" The ministers replied, "Your majesty, the prince after he had set out saw an old man, and no longer will he go to the park."

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[1] See Vol. 1, pp. 265 ff.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 28, *n.* 5.
[3] Fashioned (miraculously), *nirmita*, often used in this sense.
[4] *Adhvagata*, BSk. = Pali *addhangata*.
[5] *Prakhalati*, BSk. = Pali *pakkhalati*, Sk., *praskhalati*.
[6] Reading *kumāra* for *kumāro*.

The king then said to himself, "I must see to it that what was proclaimed of the prince by Asita the seer must not come to pass." And he gave instructions to the king's harem, saying, "Divert, delight and amuse the prince well with dance and song and music, so that he may find pleasure at home." And thus there was as beautiful singing in the prince's harem as in the world of devas. Yet the prince was not attracted by the singing. So much did his memory dwell on the old man.

On another occasion the prince said, "I am going out to the park." The king said to his ministers, "Provide pleasant sights and sounds, so that the prince as he goes out to the park may see nothing unpleasant." So at the king's word of command the ministers prepared the way from the royal palace (**152**) to the prince's park as the king had ordered. Here and there they stationed men to see to it that on his way to the park there should stand before him no old man or one advanced in years, no one diseased or one-eyed or lame, no one suffering from leprosy, the itch, scab or eruption on the skin, and that nothing unpleasant should stand before him. So, as the prince in great royal pomp, magnificence and splendour proceeded to the park in a costly equipage glittering with the seven precious stones, royal servants went as an escort on his left and on his right to ensure that he should not see anything unpleasant.

While the prince, thus seeing pleasant sights, hearing pleasant sounds, smelling pleasant scents, and receiving on both sides, on the left and on the right, a hundred thousand salutations, was on his way from Kapilavastu to the park, Ghaṭikāra the potter, who had becme a Śuddhāvāsa deva, and other Śuddhāvāsa devas conjured up before him a diseased man. This man had swollen hands and feet. His face was swollen, and his complexion jaundiced. His belly was dropsical[1] and on his dropsical, protruding navel thousands of flies were feeding. He was a loathsome and disgusting sight.

When the Bodhisattva saw this man he asked his charioteer, "My dear charioteer, tell me who this loathsome man is,

[1] *Dakodarika*. The corresponding term in *Lal. Vist.*, 228, is *udarākula* *i.e.* "swollen belly." *Daka*, as in Pali, is "an aphâeretic from combinations like *sītodaka*, which was taken for *sīto-daka*." (See *P.E.D.*)

with his jaundiced complexion, his swollen hands and feet, his blotched face,[1] and with thousands of flies feeding on his dropsical, exuding navel ?" The charioteer replied, "What is the man you ask about to you ? His life is near spent with disease. Let us go on to the park and there let his highness divert, enjoy and amuse himself." But the prince said, "My dear charioteer, mark this. We too are liable to disease; we have not passed beyond liability to disease. Verily, when old age and disease are seen to be the lot of every man born, what pleasure can there be for a discerning man ? (153) Disease means the loss of beauty, the crushing of strength, the destruction of the faculties, the rise of sorrows, the end of joy, concentration on the senses,[2] the cessation of dharma, and preoccupation with things pertaining to the body.[3] Who that drinks up the world and, being beautiful, swallows it, does not shudder at disease ?" And he added, "Charioteer, turn the chariot round. No more going to the park for me."

The prince therefore returned and entered his house. King Śuddhodana asked his ministers, "Sirs, why has the prince turned back instead of going on to the park ?" The ministers replied, "Your majesty, the prince saw a diseased man, and so turned back and will no longer go to the park."

The king said to himself, "I must see to it that what was proclaimed of the prince by Asita the seer does not come to pass." And he gave orders to the harem, saying, "Divert, delight and amuse the prince well with dance and song and music so that he may find pleasure at home." And thus the singing in the prince's harem was as beautiful as that in the abode of the devas. But the prince was not attracted by the singing, so much did his memory dwell on the old man and the diseased man.

On another occasion the prince asked permission of his father, saying, "Father, I am going to the park to have a

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[1] *Bhinnamukhavarṇo*, "broken complexion of the face."

[2] This is a free translation of an unusual expression, *cittāśrayāṇāṃ nidhi*, "the receptacle of (= what holds) the heart and body" *i.e.* "the feelings and sense."

[3] Another unusual expression, *gātrāśritānāṃ gṛihaṃ*, "the home of the things which pertain to the limbs or body." Senart refers to Burnouf: *Introduction à l'histoire du buddhisme indien*, p. 449, for explanation of the terms *āśraya* and *āśrita* and renders "le réceptacle de la pensée et de sens . . . la demeure des corps et des sensations."

look at it." The king gave orders to his ministers, saying, "The prince is going out to the park. Adorn the park, prepare the way and decorate the city. Have all the way from the royal palace to the prince's park sprinkled and swept, overhung with an awning, bordered by bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, made fragrant with incense, and strewn with heaps of flowers. Here and there place receptacles for flowers, and dancers, mimes, athletes, wrestlers, minstrels and drummers. Provide pleasant sights, sounds and scents so that the prince on his way to the park may not see anything unpleasant, whether an old man, or a diseased man, or a one-eyed man, or a lame man, or one suffering from leprosy, the itch, scab or eruption on the skin, or one who is blind and withered." At the king's word of command (**154**) the ministers made preparations as the king had ordered. On the left and on the right, men were stationed to form an escort and prevent the prince on his way to the park from seeing anything unpleasant. Thus, riding in an equipage glittering with the seven precious stones, overhung by a canopy, draped with festoons of fine cloth, coated with a network of gold, with banners flying, to the accompaniment of the merry sound made by the horses' hoofs that were like red coral,[1] and with flags and pennons aloft, the prince, with his ministers and attendants, in great royal majesty, pomp, splendour and effulgence, and receiving from both sides, the left and the right, a hundred thousand salutations, went out from Kapilavastu to the park.

Then Ghaṭikāra the potter, who had become a Śuddhāvāsa deva, and other Śuddhāvāsa devas conjured up before the prince a dead man. This dead man was placed on a litter and was borne by his relatives, who sobbed, wept, dishevelled their hair, beat their breasts and made piteous lamentation. When he saw the dead man, the prince asked his charioteer, "My dear charioteer, tell me, do I not see a man here, who is placed on a litter and is borne by his relatives who sob, weep, dishevel

[1] ? *Sanandīghoṣena sakhurapravālena,* "with a merry sound (made by) a hoof that was of coral." In our text *sanandīghoṣa* is often found as an epithet of *ratha,* "chariot," but *sakhurapravāla* must obviously allude to the horse drawing it, for no part of a chariot can be called *khura.* On p. 420 (text) *sakhurapravāla* is an epithet of *nāga,* "elephant," though it is applied almost in the next sentence to *ratha*; but it is assumed in the note on that passage that this is due to a copyist's error.

their hair and beat their breasts?" The charioteer replied, "Prince, this is a dead man being carried out to the cemetery by his relatives, who sob, weep, dishevel their hair and beat their breasts." The prince said, "My dear charioteer, mark this. That man no more will see his father or mother, brother or sister, kinsman, friend or blood-relation, or bright Jambudvīpa." The charioteer replied, "No, prince. That man will no more see his mother or father, brother or sister, or kinsmen, friends and blood-relations, or fair Jambudvīpa."

The prince then said :—

Death is common to you and to me. It knows neither friend nor foe. Like the seasons, it comes round in its turn, invincible and inevitable.

(155) *It takes no account of high or low, of rich or poor.*[1] *Intrepid like the sun, it goes along its course.*

The charioteer said :—

Pleasures, success, royal prosperity, joy, honour, these are the things you should ask for, the chiefest things in the world. What is it to you that you have seen frightful death, the root of which is sickness and suffering, and which is the destruction of men?

The Bodhisattva said :—

He who has seen an old man, a diseased man and a dead man, and does not shudder at the round of rebirth, is to be grieved for as dull-witted, as a blind man who has lost his way.

The prince then said, "My dear charioteer, mark well. We too are liable to death. We have not passed beyond liability to death. Verily, when old age, disease and death are recognised to be the lot of every man that is born, what pleasure can there be for the discerning man? Turn the chariot round. No more going to the park for me."

And so the prince returned once more and entered his house. And King Śuddhodana asked his ministers, "Why has the prince turned back again instead of going on to the park?"

[1] Reading *nāthānāthan* for *nāthavantam*.

The minister replied, " Sire, the prince saw a dead man borne on a litter by his relatives, who sobbed, wept, dishevelled their hair, beat their breasts and piteously wailed, as they bore him to the cemetery. He was moved by the sight, and so turned back."

King Śuddhodana said to himself, " I must see to it that the word spoken by those soothsaying brāhmans,[1] who said that the prince would leave home as a recluse, does not turn out true." And he sent a messenger to the prince's harem to bid the eunuchs and chamberlains to divert the prince well (**156**) with dance and song and music, so that the prince should find pleasure. So the officials of the harem sought to delight the prince well with dance and song and music, but the prince's heart and mind were not there nor anywhere else. So well did he remember the old man, the diseased man and the dead man.

On another occasion again the prince asked permission of his father, saying, ' Father, I am going out to the park to have a look at it." The king replied, "As you please,[2] my son." He then gave orders to his ministers, saying, " Adorn the park and make it like the Nandana[3] grove of the lord of devas. Decorate the city. Have the way from the royal palace to the prince's park sprinkled and swept, overhung with an awning, bordered by bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, made fragrant with incense and strewn with heaps of flowers. Here and there place receptacles for flowers and incense, and dancers, mimes, athletes, wrestlers, minstrels and drummers. See that all sights, sounds and scents be pleasant, so that the prince on his way from Kapilavastu to the park may see nothing that is unpleasant, whether an old man, or a diseased man, or a dead man, or a blind man, or a one-eyed or lame man, or one suffering from leprosy, the itch, scab, or eruption on the skin. Thus do."

At the king's word of command, the ministers saw to it that everything was done as the king had ordered. Here and there were stationed men to ensure that the prince on his way from Kapilavastu to the park should not see anything that was unpleasant. So, riding in an equipage glittering with the seven

[1] See Vol. 1, p. 164, *n.* 4. The text here has *nimittika* for *naimittika.*
[2] *Yasya . . . kālam manyase.* See Vol. 1, p. 269, *n.* 1.
[3] See Vol. 1, p. 28, *n.* 1.

precious stones, coated in a network of gold, well decorated, with a flying banner, to the accompaniment of the merry sound made by the horses' hoofs that were like red coral, and flags and pennons aloft, the prince, accompanied by his ministers and attendants, with great royal majesty and splendour, with great effulgence, magnificence and splendour, went from Kapilavastu to the park.

And as he was on his way Ghaṭikāra the potter, who had become a Śuddhāvāsa deva, and other Śuddhāvāsa devas conjured up (**157**) to stand before the prince a wanderer who wore the yellow robe, whose faculties were under control, who had mastered the four postures,[1] who did not look before him farther than a plough's length[2] in the crowded royal street of Kapilavastu.[3] The prince saw this wanderer and his mind grew calm at the sight. "Behold," he said, "the wisdom of one who has become a wanderer."

When he had seen him, the prince asked the wanderer, "Noble sir, with what object did you become a wanderer?" The wanderer replied, "O prince, I became a wanderer for the sake of winning self-control, calm, and utter release."

When the prince heard the words of the wanderer he was filled with joy, and said:—

> *"Verily, now, a wanderer who, conspicuous by his flowing yellow robe, crosses the crowded royal street,[4] his body covered by mire, dust and dirt, is like the red goose[5] in a thicket of reeds."*

Mṛigī,[6] a Śākyan woman, was the mother of Ānanda. When she saw the prince going out from Kapilavastu in such glory and splendour, she praised him in verse:—

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[1] *Iriyāpathasampanno.* See Vol. 1, p. 18, *n.* 5.
[2] *Yugamātraprekṣamāṇa.* See Vol. 1, p. 250.
[3] *Janasahasre kapilarājamārge.*
[4] Literally "the crowded path of one related to Indra, *i.e.* royal" *janavikīrṇe aindramārge.* But the reading is very doubtful and Senart admits that it is not close to the MSS., two of which have *janakapilena.* The whole phrase is obviously related to and practically synonymous with the prose expression immediately above, *janasahasre kapilarājamārge.*
[5] *Cakravāka,* see *Miln.* 401, where there is a chapter extolling the qualities of this bird.
[6] In *J.* 1. 60 she is called Kisāgotamī, and according to the account in Rockhill: *Life of the Buddha, etc.,* p. 24, she became the Bodhisattva's wife seven days before he left home. See E. J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha,* p. 54 (footnote).

Blessed verily is your mother and blessed, too, your father.
Blessed also is the woman whose husband you will be[1].

When the Bodhisattva heard the sound of the word Nirvana,[2] his mind grew calm with the thought of Nirvana, it took its stand on it and aspired after it.[3]

" *When he heard the sound of the word Nirvana, he listened with rapt attention.*[4] *Having caught a glimpse of the incomparable Nirvana, he meditated on it, having nothing more to fear.*[5]

While the prince thus pondered on Nirvana, he neither looked at nor spoke to the Śākyan lady Mṛigī. And at this she was peeved and said to herself, " I have sung the praises of the prince in the midst of all this multitude, yet he does not deign even to look at me."

King Śuddhodana caused a door named Ṣaḍvālaka to be made which needed five hundred men to open[6] it. (**158**) The noise made when it was opened could be heard for a *yojana* all round. He stationed five hundred kings around the city. He had the vessels for anointing made ready, saying, " I shall anoint the prince on a holy day."

But the Bodhisattva reflected, " On that holy day I shall go forth from home." And the Śuddhāvāsa devas said to him, " O Great Man, when it was the due time thou didst leave the Tuṣita devas ; when it was the due time thou didst come down into thy mother's womb ; when it was the due time thou wert born. And now has the time come for thee to leave thy home, O Great Man, who art gifted with the knowledge of the right occasion.[7] The great multitude longs for thee as the anxious husbandman longs for a big cloud of rain."

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[1] Cf. *DhA.* 1. 85 ; *BudvA.* 280.

[2] *I.e.* in the adjective *nirvṛita* (Pali *nibbuta*) " released," which for want of a better word has been translated " blessed."

[3] *Sampraskande,* Pali *sampakkhandati* (*Miln.* 35). For the expression cf. *S.* 3. 133 *nibbāne cittam na pakkhandati nappasīdati.*

[4] Literally, " he took up his hearing in (listening to) Nirvana," *nirvāṇe śrotamādade.*

[5] *Akutobhayam,* adverbial accusative, " with no fear from anywhere."

[6] Literally " was opened by five hundred men," *apāvurīyati,* BSk. = Pali *apāpurīyati,* passive of *apāpurati,* corresponding to Sk. *apāvṛiṇoti.*

[7] Reading *kālajñātāsampanno* for *kālanirnāma°* which does not seem to make sense here. *Kālajña,* Pali *kālaññū,* " knowing the fit time " is one of the attributes of a " cakravartin " king (*A.* 3. 148) and of a good man, *sappurisa* (*D.* 3. 252, 283). Cf. Vol. 1, p. 4.

A lord of the devas recited a verse :—

Reflect perfectly, O Bodhisattva, for so do the knowing ones reflect. In the way thou dost reflect, O wise man, it is clear that you have the root of goodness.[1]

A great lord of the devas recited a verse :

Go forth from home, O great hero, go forth, great sage. For the sake of the whole world, awaken to the immortal Way.

Great Brahmā said, "If, O Great Man, thou wilt not leave home to-day, seven days hence the seven treasures of kingship[2] will be produced and thou wilt become a universal king over the four continents, triumphant, just, a king of justice, possessing the seven treasures. These seven treasures will appear from the sky, to wit, the treasure of the wheel, of the elephant, of the horse, of the jewel, of the woman, of the householder, and of the counsellor. And thou wilt have a full thousand sons who will be valiant, brave, comely, overpowering the armies of their enemies, and noble. Thou wilt hold and occupy in justice, without opposition, without trouble, without recourse to violence and without oppression, these four great continents, to wit, Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānika (**159**) and Uttarakuru, all bounded by sea and mountain.

Rāhula, passing away from Tuṣita, entered his mother's womb at the hour of midnight.[3] The Bodhisattva woke up and saw the women asleep. One was clasping a *vīṇa*,[4] another a *veṇu*,[5] another a *nakula*,[6] another a *sughoṣa*,[7] another a

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[1] This verse is rather obscure. It would be less so if we could read *vitarkayasi* for the imperative *vitarkaya*, but, as Senart points out, the metre is against the change.

[2] Cf. Vol. 1, p. 41.

[3] According to *J*. 1. 60, *AA*. 1. 82 Rāhula was born on the day his father went away.

[4] As it is not possible without elaborate research into musical matters, if even then, to discriminate between many of these musical instruments, and as, moreover, the dictionaries do not know some of their names, it has been thought advisable to give all the names in their original form, with the definition given by the dictionaries, where available, in a footnote. The *vīṇa* or Indian lute is, of course, well known.

[5] Flute or reed-pipe.

[6] Cf. *Lal. Vist*. 252.

[7] See Vol. 1, p. 183, *n*. 3. Cf. *Lal. Vist*., 252 and 258.

tūṇaka,[1] another a *candīsaka*,[2] another a *sambhārikā*,[3] another a *mahatī*,[4] another a *vipañcikā*,[5] another a *ḍhakkapaṭaha*,[6] another a *vallaki*,[7] another a *mṛidanga*,[8] another a *mukunda*,[9] another a *paṇava*,[10] another a *jharjharaka*,[11] another an *ālinga*[12] and another a *parivādinī*.[13] One had her hand at her throat, another her head on a drum, another her head on her neighbour's bosom, another her arm on her neighbour's shoulder, another embraced her neighbour, and another had her limbs sprawling left and right. From the mouth of some, saliva trickled.

And when the Bodhisattva saw them one and all lying on the floor in the harem there arose in him an awareness of the burial ground[14]. He rose up from his squatting position and took from the chest his fine clothes of Benares cloth. His servant Chandaka waited on him. "Chandaka," said he, "bring me my horse Kaṇṭhaka." Chandaka replied, "O prince, it is now midnight. What need of a horse is there at such a time? Thou hast a mansion like the abode of Kuvera.[15] So be happy in it. Why dost thou call for a horse? Thou hast a harem of women as fair as the Apsarases. Be happy in it. Why dost thou call for a horse?" Thus at that time did Chandaka expostulate in various ways. "O prince," added he, "this is no time for a horse. **(160)** This is the time for lying on royal beds. What need is there of a horse just now?"

The prince replied, "Chandaka, now is the time I need a horse. So bring me Kaṇṭhaka."

The thought occurred to Chandaka, "Since the prince calls

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[1] ? Note: *tuṇava* in Vedic means a kind of wind instrument.
[2] A doubtful word printed with a question mark.
[3] ?
[4] ?
[5] A lute, identical with (? or similar to) the *vīṇa*.
[6] *Dhakka* "a large or double drum" + *paṭaha*, "kettle-drum," "tabour."
[7] Indian lute, ? another name for the *vīṇa*.
[8] A kind of drum or tabour.
[9] A kind of drum or kettle-drum.
[10] A sort of musical instrument, a small drum or tabour or kind of cymbal.
[11] A sort of drum.
[12] A sort of drum.
[13] A *vīṇa*, a lute of seven strings.
[14] Cf. *V*. I. 15, *hatthappattaṃ susānaṃ maññe*, "one would think one's hand had reached the cemetery" (= "like a cemetery before his very eyes."—Miss I. B. Horner in her forthcoming volume of the *Book of Discipline*).
[15] The god of wealth, here called by his patronymic Vaiśravaṇa, the son of Viśravas.

for Kaṇṭhaka at this time of night, it must be that he intends to leave home while his people are peacefully asleep." So as he was bringing round[1] Kaṇṭhaka, he cried out at the top of his voice so that the king and all the people in Kapilavastu might be awakened. But no one woke up at the cry of Chandaka. For the devas had laid a heavy sleep on all the people, both those within and those without the city.

Kaṇṭhaka, too, as it was being brought to the Bodhisattva, neighed loudly, thinking that King Śuddhodana and all the people would be awakened by the sound of its neighing. But though the sound could be heard for a *yojana* all round, no one was awakened.

A thousand *koṭis* of devas assembled at Kapilavastu bringing fragrant garlands in honour of the Bodhisattva's going forth. And when the Bodhisattva had mounted Kaṇṭhaka, the prince of steeds, devas in the sky rained down a shower of flowers of the coral tree,[2] of the great coral tree, of the *karkārava*,[3] of the great *karkārava*, of the *rocamāna*,[4] of the great *rocamāna*, of the *mañjūṣika*,[5] of the great *mañjūṣika*, of the *bhīṣma*,[6] of the great *bhīṣma*, of the *samantagandha*,[7] of the great *samantagandha*, of the *pārijāta*,[8] flowers of celestial gold and silver, flowers of celestial gems, celestial powders of sandal-wood, of aloe-wood, of *keśara* and of *tamāla* leaves, and celestial, cool and scented water. For sixty *yojanas* around Kapilavastu there was a heap of celestial flowers as high as the knees, and for sixty *yojanas* around everything became cleaned[9] by the celestial scented water. Thousands of *koṭis* of celestial notes were sounded. There were celestial choruses and thousands of Apsarases shouted (**161**) and sang. The Four Great Lords[10] took hold of Kaṇṭhaka's hoofs.

On hearing Kaṇṭhaka, the horse Pelavaka, which was born

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[1] *Pallānayantena* = *paryānayantena* from *pari-ā-nī*. So Senart.
[2] *Mandārava*, but here the spelling is *maṇḍārava*.
[3] See Vol. 1, p. 221, *n*. 1.
[4] Unknown, but *cf. rocana*, the name of various flowering trees.
[5] "Name of a celestial flower."
[6] Unknown.
[7] Name of a tree and its flowers in the *Mvyut*.
[8] BSk. form of the Pali *pāricchattaka*, the coral tree *Erythma Indica*, a tree in Indra's heaven. In Vol. 1, p. 267 (text), the form *pāriyātra* is found. (See note Vol. 1, p. 221).
[9] Reading *akardamam* "free from dirt" for *kardamam* (*sic*) of the text.
[10] See Vol. 1, p. 25, *n*. 3.

at the same time, ran out to see if it were its equal in speed.[1] There was also a Yakṣa who had been born at the same time as Chandaka and was named Supratiṣṭhita, and he and his company of five hundred opened the door Ṣaḍvālaka and suppressed the noise.

Thus the Bodhisattva, leaving behind him his great army of elephants, cavalry and footsoldiers, his great stores of wealth, his great sovereignty and his great family, went forth from home into the homeless state. The Bodhisattva, oppressed by birth, went forth from home into the homeless state in order to attain the way that leads beyond birth. Oppressed by death, he went forth from home into the homeless state in order to attain the way that leads beyond death. Oppressed by sorrows and tribulations,[2] he went forth from home into the homeless state in order to attain the way that leads beyond tribulations.

And, monks,[3] it was not when he was worn out with decay[4] that the Bodhisattva went forth from home into the homeless state, but it was when he was in the prime and perfection of his youth. Again, monks, it was not when he was worn out by disease and decay that the Bodhisattva went forth from home into the homeless state, but it was when he was in the prime and perfection of his health. Again, monks, it was not when he was worn out by the loss of wealth (**162**) that the Bodhisattva went forth from home into the homeless state, but he left behind him a great store of riches. Again, monks, it was not when he was worn out by the loss of his kinsmen that the Bodhisattva went forth from home into the homeless state, but he left behind him a large family of relations.

The rocks shook, the waters rippled, the ocean, hitherto calm, tossed. Devas scattered celestial powder of the sandal-wood, of the aloe-wood, of *keśara* and of *tamāla* leaves, and showers of garlanded flowers. This great earth trembled, shook, and

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[1] *Yadi na samajavo tena bhavāmi.* But there is no verb on which this clause can properly depend, nor even an *iti* to mark the "reported speech." The whole sentence, as Senart points out, is of doubtful correctness.

[2] *Upāyāsa* BSk., Pali, *id.*

[3] It would appear that this part of the narrative has been inserted from another source, namely from one of the many accounts of his history given by the Buddha himself to the monks. Up to this point the narrative has been recounted by an independent narrator.

[4] *Parijuññena parijūrṇa. Parijuñña* here and in the compounds below must be taken as an abstract noun. We should expect the form *pārijuñña*, as in Pali, with the sense of "loss," "decay," "poverty."

quaked violently six times through the might of the Bodhisattva. There was manifested in the world a great, infinite and sublime radiance. And the regions between the worlds, regions of blackness lapped in blackness, of gloom lapped in gloom, dark unfathomed regions where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic though they be, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance penetrate, with all their light cannot make their light manifest, suddenly become suffused with this radiance. And the beings who had been reborn there exclaimed to one another, "Lo, there are other beings reborn here." Now all those beings were for that instant, for that moment immersed in bliss. Even those reborn in the great hell of Avīci excelled the splendour of devas, of Nāgas, and of Yakṣas. The realms of Māra were eclipsed, without radiance, lustre or joy. Shattered, they fell a *kos*, two *kos*, three. Shattered, they fell even for *yojanas*. **(163)** Their standards, too, fell, and wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by the sting within him.[1]

Again, monks, while the Bodhisattva was going forth, the eastern quarter of the world became exceeding bright and pure. And so did the southern quarter, the western and the northern, and the regions below and above.[2] The moon and sun at their rising, in their course, and at their setting became exceeding bright and pure. The constellations and the stars became exceeding bright and pure. The abodes of the Cāturmahārājika devas became exceeding bright and pure, and so[3] did the abodes of the Trāyastriṃśa devas, of the Yāma devas, of the Tuṣita devas, of the Nirmāṇarati devas, and of the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas. The abodes of Māra became exceeding gloomy. The standards of Māra's companies became dulled and without lustre. And wicked Māra became unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, dark-visaged and tortured by the sting within him. The abodes of the Brahmā devas and of the Śuddhāvāsa devas became exceeding bright and pure. And similarly the places where the perfect Buddhas of limited splendour stood, walked, sat or lay down among these Śuddhāvāsa

[1] This passage has already occurred in Vol. 1, p. 41 (text), where see notes (Vol. 1, p. 35).
[2] The text repeats the whole sentence in each case.
[3] See preceding note.

devas, became exceeding bright and pure.[1] The Śuddhāvāsa devas became exceeding thrilled, elated, joyful and glad.

Again, monks, when the Bodhisattva was leaving home, all the Nāga[2] lords and kings, whether born of eggs, or of the womb, or of moisture, or without the intercourse of parents, (**164**) formed a great four-fold army of warriors on elephants, cavalry, charioteers and infantry, and thus escorted the Bodhisattva as he went forth from home into the homeless state.

Again, monks, when the Bodhisattva was leaving home all the Suparṇa[3] lords and kings, whether born of eggs, or of the womb or of moisture, or without the intercourse of parents, formed a great four-fold army of warriors on elephants, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry, and thus escorted the Bodhisattva.

As the Bodhisattva went on, the goddess of the city[4] stood before him, and sorrowfully said :—

> *O Nāga, O Nāga, look at me. O lion, O lion, look at me. O most elect of beings, look at me ; O leader of the caravan, look at me.*

On his way from Kapilavastu the Lion-man, he who brought joy to the Śākyans, looked down towards the fair city and made this solemn utterance :—

> *Though I were to fall into hell and get poisoned food to eat, I shall not again enter this city before I have won beyond old age and death.*

This, monks, was how the Bodhisattva accomplished his going forth. The Bodhisattva, welcomed by thousands of devas and by the Four Great Kings, rode twelve *yojanas* south-

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[1] This is strange doctrine or mythology. There is not, nor could there be, elsewhere any mention of perfect Buddhas as such sojourning among the Śuddhāvāsa devas. Equally strange is it to speak of perfect Buddhas of limited splendour. What has happened is that in some way or other *saṃyagsambuddhānām* has taken the place of *devānām*. Devas of limited splendour (*parittābhā*) were a special class of devas whose radiance or splendour was limited (*paritta*) because, as humans, they had been content to absorb the idea of lesser brilliancy. (*M.* 3. 147.) They belong to the plane of the second *dhyāna* (*jhāna*). See *D.P.N.* for references.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 35. *n.* 4.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 165, *n.* 2.

[4] *Nagaradevatā.* She appears also in *Lal. Vist.*, 272.

wards from Kapilavastu to the district of the Mallas,[1] to a place named Anomiya,[2] not far from the hermitage of the seer Vaśiṣṭha.[3] There the Bodhisattva and Chandaka stopped. The Bodhisattva (**165**) handed over to Chandaka his jewels, his horse Kaṇṭhaka and his gem-studded sunshade and bade him greet his father, Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī[4] and all his kinsmen. "Tell them," said he, "that I'll come again when I have done my duty and set rolling the noble wheel of dharma." Chandaka said, "Dost thou not yearn for thy mother and father?" The Bodhisattva replied:—

> *"O Chandaka, from what you say, I perceive you are at fault. I leave my people because I aim at release, because my mind is bent on release. How in the life of a son*[5] *could there again be separation from one's beloved kinsmen?*
>
> *"If there were for us no death, no birth, no disease and old age and such things; if one had not to renounce what is desirable; if one had not to have recourse to what is unpleasant; if one's hopes were not unfulfilled; if one's happiness were not fickle, then there would be pleasure in the various spheres of man's life."*

Chandaka said, "Verily, sir, all those skilled in the scriptures have pronounced about thee that thy destiny is to become ruler of the four continents.[6] Is that not true?" The Bodhisattva replied, "O Chandaka, tell me what else did those skilled soothsayers pronounce? Now is the time to tell the truth if you have any regard for me." Chandaka replied, "Well, I'll tell

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 54, *n*. 3.

[2] In the Pali texts and in *Lal. Vist.* we are told that the Buddha came to the river Anomā, which was thirty leagues to the east of Kapilavastu. See *D.P.N.* and references there.

[3] See Vol. 1, p. 32, *n*. 2.

[4] Younger sister of Māyā. (Suddhodana married both.) She looked after Gotama and nursed him after his mother's death.

[5] ? *Jātasya janmani.* The whole verse, however, is obscure, and Senart suggests that a part of the text giving Chandaka's reasons why Gotama should not leave home has dropped out. Perhaps these two words could be taken to imply that Chandaka urged the need of the young Rāhula for his father.

[6] Literally "that your *gatis* is the four continents," *cāturdrīpagatis.* Perhaps we should read *°patis,* "you will become lord of the four continents."

thee. This was the second alternative. If, said they, the Bodhisattva leaves the world and becomes a wanderer, he will become an all-seeing destroyer of the passion for existence."

The thought occurred to the Bodhisattva, "How can I become a wanderer with this tuft of hair on the crown of my head?" So the Bodhisattva cut off the tuft with his knife. And that tuft was taken up by Śakra, the lord of devas, and received worship in Trāyastriṃśa (166) where the *cūḍā* festival is observed.

At the same time, Kaṇṭhaka licked the Bodhisattva's feet but he went on his way unheeding.

I sing the praises of the going forth, how the Seer went forth from home. Seeing an old man and a dead man, the Sage was greatly moved.

Deeply stirred, the greatly wise and discerning one saw the peril in the world and went forth into the homeless state.

He left behind him mother and father and a host of kinsmen, and went away from Kapilavastu riding on his horse Kaṇṭhaka.

And when he abandoned his horse and Chandaka, he thereby sundered the ties that bound him to his home. Renouncing all this, he went on without regret.

Now when the Bodhisattva had gone away, Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka returned from Anomiya, a place not far from the hermitage of the seer Vasiṣṭha. Chandaka handed over the jewels to King Śuddhodana and gave the message of greetings to him, to Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī and to other relations. But he had no message for Yaśodharā.

The monks heard of this after the Exalted One had set rolling the wheel of dharma, and they asked him, "How was it that the Exalted One went away heedless of Yaśodharā?" The Exalted One replied, "That was not the first time that I went away heedless of her. There was another occasion." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

ŚYĀMĀ JĀTAKA[1]

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, there was in the northern country a city, named Takṣaśilā,[2] where there lived a merchant, (**167**) named Vajrasena, who traded in horses. He went from Takṣaśilā to Benares, taking some horses with him to sell. Now as he was on his way he and the rest of the caravan was attacked by brigands near Benares. All the traders were beaten and killed and the horses stolen. But the leader of the caravan hid himself behind the body of a dead man and so was not killed. When the brigands, assuming that the caravan-leader had been slain, went off with their plunder, Vajrasena the horse-dealer, by following a water-course, entered Benares and lodged in an empty house.

Now in the night thieves broke into the king's palace in the city of Benares and seized a large amount of property. In the morning the ministers saw that the king's palace had been broken into, and they reported the matter to the king. "Your majesty," said they, "the royal palace has been broken into." The king ordered them to examine the palace. They did so and saw that much property had been stolen. They informed the king, saying, "Your majesty, much property has been stolen from the palace." The king ordered his ministers to track down the thieves. And they, at the king's command, immediately started to hunt for the thieves in Benares. All houses were searched, including temples and empty houses.

In the course of their search the king's servants[3] came to the empty house where Vajrasena the horse-dealer, who had been beaten by brigands, was lying. He, wearied out by a fatiguing journey, a wakeful night, and anxiety, had fallen asleep, and though the sun was up he had not awakened. The king's men who were looking for the thieves saw him lying there with his limbs and clothes drenched in blood and having money on him. And they said amongst themselves, "This is the thief who

[1] The theme, with some interesting variations of detail, is that of the Pali *Kaṇaverajātaka* (No. 318 in Fausböll).

[2] Pali *Takkasilā*, capital of Gandhāra, and 120 *yojanas* from Benares. The road between the two places passed through jungles infested by robbers. It was already in pre-Buddhist times an educational centre. See *D.P.N.* for details and references.

[3] *Bhaṭṭa* for *bhaṭa*.

robbed the king's palace." One of the king's servants prodded him with his foot (168) and made him stand up. "Stand up, you pilfering rogue," said he, "without a doubt you are the thief who marauded the king's palace."

Then the horse-dealer, in fear and trembling, stood up and asked what the matter was. They replied, "There's no doubt it was you, pilfering rogue, who marauded the king's palace." He said to them, "Gentlemen, calm yourselves. I am not a thief, but a horse-dealer." They replied, "We know a horse-dealer when we see one, but we know that you are a pilfering rogue."[1] And in spite of his protests, he had his hands tied behind his back and was taken before the king. "Here he is, sire," said they. "He was caught sleeping in an empty house." The king was enraged and passed a terrible sentence. "Go," he ordered, "take him to the Atimuktaka[2] cemetery and impale him alive."

So, having his hands securely bound behind him, given intoxicants to drink and having a halter round his neck, to the accompaniment of the harsh[3] noise of a beaten drum, and surrounded by executioners armed with knives, swords and hatchets, and by thousands of people, he was led out and came to the street of the courtesans. There the leading courtesan Śyāmā lived. She was wealthy, opulent and rich, having abundant gold and silver to live upon, and plenty of female and male slaves and hirelings.

Now this leading courtesan Śyāmā saw the merchant being led out to his execution. And as soon as she saw him, she fell in love with him. As has been said by the Exalted One :—

By living together in the past and by kindness in the present, love is born as surely as the lotus in the water.[4]
By living together, by a look, or by a smile, thus is love born in man and beast.
(169) *When it enters the mind and the heart becomes glad,*

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[1] Literally, "a horse-dealer is such, what you are like to is a wicked thief," *edriśako aśvavāṇijako bhavati yādriso tvaṃ pāpacauro tvaṃ.*

[2] Pali *Atimuttaka,* "a cemetery near Benares, where robbers used to deposit their goods" (*D.P.N.*).

[3] Reading *kharasvareṇa,* as in *J.* 3. 59, for *svarasvareṇa* of the text.

[4] This stanza is found at *J.* 2. 235, and has already occurred in our text, see above p. 95 and note there.

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even the intelligent man always succumbs to it,[1] *for it means that there has been acquaintance in the past.*[2]

That courtesan had been in love with the horse-dealer during a thousand lives. Therefore it was that exceeding great love was born in her. She said to herself, " If I do not win this man, I shall die." So she at once said to a female slave of hers, " Here you, go and tell those executioners from me that I shall give them a large quantity of gold if they will not put this man to death. Another man will come along of the same complexion and appearance. Let them take him and put him to death." The slave went and spoke to the executioners as she had been instructed. The executioners answered, " Very well, let it be so." Then they went on their way to the cemetery.[3]

Now at this time there was at the courtesan's house an only son of a merchant, who had bought access to the house for twelve years, of which ten had passed and two were left. As he said :—

Nobles have a hundred arts, brāhmans two hundred, kings a thousand, but a women's arts are countless.

Then Śyāmā the courtesan, in the presence of the merchant's son, set aside some food and condiments. The merchant's son asked her, " Śyāmā, what is this for ? " She replied, " Sir, when I saw that man who is to be executed, pity arose in me. So I said to myself, ' I'll take him some food myself.' " The merchant's son said, " No, don't go yourself. Send a slave." She replied, "Who knows whether the slave will give it or not? I shall take it and give it myself."

Then the merchant's son (**170**) said, " Bring me the food. I shall go, so that you do not have to go yourself." But she displayed still more wiles, and said, " Not so. You, sir, must not go. I shall go." The merchant's son said, " No, don't you go. I'll go." The courtesan said, " Let it be as you wish, sir. Either I go or you go."

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[1] Literally " will go," *gacche*.

[2] Literally " there will be (= will have been) acquaintance in the past," *saṃstavo vai pure bhavet*.

[3] *Kṛitāntasūnikā*, " the slaughter-house of Yama (*Kṛitānta*)," but Senart is far from satisfied with his restoration of the text here.

Thus the merchant's son took the food and set out. The courtesan said to a slave, "Go, and when the merchant's son has been executed take the other man and hide him until the sun sets, so that no one may see him."

By this time all the people had turned back, and the executioners had reached the cemetery when the merchant's son came up carrying the food. He handed the food to the man who was to be executed. Then the executioners put the merchant's son to death, and the horse-dealer was set free. He was secretly taken by the female slave to the courtesan's house.

Then the horse-dealer was at once rubbed with perfumes,[1] bathed, clothed[2] in costly garments, and laid on a sumptuous couch, and fragrant garlands and food were brought him. He gave himself up wholly to the pleasures of the senses. And the two of them diverted, delighted and amused themselves.

Now the former merchant's son had been coming there for ten years. When he was executed the full fee for the other two years was contributed by his parents. And when the horse-dealer saw what was going on he was filled with anxiety, and his countenance turned pale. He did not enjoy his food but vomited[3] it, for he feared lest he too would be destroyed in the same way as the former merchant's son.

Then the courtesan questioned the horse-dealer. "Although, sir," she said, "you have been here some time, **(171)** I have not seen you happy and enjoying yourself. What do you miss? What do you wish for? Whatever you have a desire for, that shall you have."

The horse-dealer replied, "My own city of Takṣaśilā is bright with parks and lotus-pools, and there the people often go out in festive array to enjoy themselves in the parks. I mind me of those parks, of the amusements in them and in the pools."

The courtesan answered, "Sir, here in Benares, too, there are parks and lotus-pools, and pleasant gardens full of flowers and fruits. If you have a wish to go to a park, I'll come out to play there." He replied, "Very well, let us go out."

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[1] Or "anointed," *ucchāpito*, a BSk. form of the past participle passive of the causative of *ut-sad*, "to anoint." Cf. the Pali substantive *ucchādana*.

[2] *Parihāpito*, BSk. for *paridhāpito*, causative past part. pass. from *pari-dhā*.

[3] *Ċhaḍḍeti* as in Pali, for *chardayati* and *chṛiṇatti*.

Then the courtesan had a certain park sprinkled and swept. She put the horse-dealer in a closed carriage, and, taking with her solid and soft food, drink, perfumes and garlands, she set out, attended by her slaves. Vajrasena, the merchant, said to the courtesan, "Surround[1] the lotus-pool with screens so that we can play the water-game privily without anyone seeing us." The thought occurred to the courtesan: "What the young gentleman says is right. We shall play privily and no one will see us." So the courtesan had the lotus-pool surrounded with screens. Then they two alone played the water-game and enjoyed and amused themselves.

Then the thought occurred to the horse-dealer: "If I do not get away to-day, I shall never again be able to do so." Then he produced[2] the drink and gave her to drink, saying to himself, "When she is drunk, then I shall be able to escape." The courtesan thought: "He is regarding me with love and is giving me to drink." Now as she went on drinking she became intoxicated. **(172)** Then the horse-dealer said to the slaves, "Go, sit down by the vessels. We are going to play the water-game in private." The slaves went and sat apart by the vessels, while they two went down to the pool to play the water-game.

Then the horse-dealer clasped Śyāmā by the neck and held[3] her under water[4] for an instant. Then he lifted her out. Śyāmā took it that the young gentleman was playing a water-game. Vajrasena the horse-dealer clasped Śyāmā and held her under the water again and again, a little longer each time. And Śyāmā grew faint. Finally he kept her under the water long enough to render her unconscious.

Vajrasena then thought: "Śyāmā here is dead. Now is my chance to escape." So, thinking that Śyāmā was dead, he mounted the stairs of the lotus-pool, and, having looked about him, escaped without anyone seeing him.

Then the slaves thought among themselves: "The gentleman and the lady should be tossing the water about as they

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[1] *Pariveṭhāpehi*, cf. Pali *pariveṭhita* from *veṭheti*, Sk. *viṣṭ* or *veṣṭ*. Immediately below we have *veṭhāpitā*—causative past. part. pass.

[2] *Agre sthāpayitvā*. Senart calls attention to the reading *ciṣṭayitvā* of one MS., which he refers to the Māgadhan *ciṭṭhadi* or *ciṭṭhai*.

[3] *Nivarteti*. Below we have the forms *nivuṭṭiya* and *nivuṭṭāpiya* with the same meaning.

[4] Literally "covering her," *vāretvā*.

play in the pool. But we do not hear any sound of their playing. Let us go and see how it is." They approached the lotus-pool and saw Śyāmā lying as if dead on a step of the pool. Somehow, they revived her. The slaves held her for a moment with her head downwards so that all the water in her ran out through her mouth.

As soon as she recovered Śyāmā asked her slaves, "Where is the young gentleman?" They replied, "Lady, the young gentleman is nowhere to be seen. It must be that he has run away." She said, "Hurry, let us go to the city." So she came to the city.

(173) Then Śyāmā the courtesan immediately summoned some *caṇḍālas*[1] and said to them, "I'll give you sufficient gold to live on. I want you to bring me a newly dead man not yet bitten by carrion." They replied, "We'll bring one without fail." They went to the cemetery, and, without being seen by anyone, brought away a newly dead man who had not been bitten. She gave the *caṇḍālas* their reward and dismissed them.

Śyāmā bathed the dead man with scented water, rubbed him with perfumes, clothed him in rich garments, and put him in a shroud securely wound.[2] Then she bade the slaves, "With one voice make lamentation and cry out, 'The young gentleman is dead, the young gentleman is dead.'" And the slaves made lamentation in the way they had been instructed by Śyāmā. A great crowd of people heard the lamentation in Śyāmā the courtesan's house that the merchant's son was dead. And the parents of the young merchant heard that their only son was dead. They and all the relatives came weeping to the courtesan's house. The dwellers in the Street of the Courtesans also sat around.

The parents said, "Remove this shroud. We would have a

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[1] A *caṇḍāla* was a member of the lowest and most despicable class of society, of a mixed caste, being the offspring of a *śūdra* and a brāhman woman.

[2] Literally "put him in a *camu* and had him well-bound." The precise meaning of *camu* here is uncertain. (*Camū* means the vessel into which the soma juice is received from the press.) Senart assumes the meaning "cercueil," "coffin," but this meaning hardly suits the context below where the young man's parents, wishing to have a view of the dead body, request the bystanders" *apaharatha etam camum*, "remove this *camu*." On page 174 we have the expression *apanetuṃ camum*, "to draw back the *camu*." The translation "shroud" is adopted merely because it seems to suit the contex better.

last look at our son." But then the thought occurred to the courtesan: "If they remove the shroud, then they will find out, and I shall be torn to pieces."[1] So she said to them, "Do not remove the shroud." They asked, "Why?" She replied, "When the young gentleman was ill, I said to him, 'Go to your parents' house.' But he replied, 'It is many years since I have gone there, and I'll not go now. When I am well[2] again, I shall go to see my parents.' Now when he was not getting well but was being consumed by disease he enjoined me, saying, (**174**) 'When I am dead, do not show me to my parents or to my relatives. Do me this favour.' And I promised the young gentleman, saying, 'Sir, I shall not show you when you are dead to your parents or to your relatives.' I would rather put an end to my life[3] than let the young gentleman's body be seen again. Therefore, if you remove the shroud I shall destroy myself. Such was the promise I made the young gentleman when he died."

The merchant thought, "It must be as she says. For she was very dear to and beloved of my son, seeing that he would not give her up even when he was dying, while she was devoted and kind to our son. Now our dear son is dead. It is no use[4] to draw back the shroud from him if we cannot have our son that is dead." And the merchant gave orders, saying, "Do not remove the shroud. Let it be as our son wished when he died." Then with great honour he went out[5] of the city and brooded in solitude.

In the meantime the courtesan wailed piteously, grieved and lamented, and displayed her many wiles. In spite of efforts to hold her back, she ran to the funeral pile, intending to throw herself on it, but was prevented by the crowd as she was on the point of falling on it.

The parents of the young merchant thought, "This Śyāmā the courtesan loved and cherished our son, just as she was loved and cherished by him. What if we were now to take Śyāmā

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[1] *Chindiṣyam*, with Pali Ātmane ending. In the next sentence "you" is the Pali *tumhe*, as also on the next page.

[2] *Vārttin* = *vārtta*.

[3] *Ātmānamupasaṃkrameyam*. Senart cites *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, ii. 8, *ātmānamupasaṃkrāmati*, "to enter into true ātman," *sc.* "to die."

[4] *Alabhanīyo artho*, "an object not to be had" = "not worth having."

[5] *Niṣkāsiya*. Cf. *niṣkāsati* Vol. 1, p. 361 (text).

to our home,[1] where she will serve to remind us of our son."[2] And so, having obtained permission from the king's court,[3] the merchant took Śyāmā to his home.

And she, putting off her jewels and gold, dressed all in white, and with her hair in one plait, sat mourning for Vajrasena the horse-dealer. The thought occurred to the parents of the merchant's son: "She is grieving for our only son." **(175)** And the merchant and his wife treated Śyāmā as their son.

Then one day some actors came from Takṣaśilā to Benares.[4] The young actors came to the merchant's house to beg for alms. Śyāmā noticed the northern accent of these young actors and asked them, "Where do you come from?" They replied, "We are from the northern parts." She asked, "From what place?" They replied, "From Takṣaśilā." She asked, "Do you know a merchant in Takṣaśilā named Vajrasena, who is a horse-dealer?"[5] The young actors replied, "Yes, certainly."[6] She asked, "Can you do me a favour?" They replied, "Certainly we can. What do you want done?" She replied, "Recite these verses in the presence of the merchant:

Silken-clothed Śyāmā, whom you did clasp too tightly in your arms among the blossoming sāl-trees,[7] *sends you greeting.*

In due course the young actors came to Takṣaśilā, and, going to Vajrasena, they recited:—

Silken-clothed Śyāmā, whom you did clasp too tightly in your arms among the blossoming sāl-trees, sends you greeting.

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[1] "Introduce her to our home," *gṛihaṃ pravaśyāma:*. The verb here must be a misprint for *praveśayāma:*, the causative of *praviś*. Cf. the past part. pass. *praveśita* immediately below.

[2] Literally "will be (as a) sight of our son," *putrasya darśanaṃ bhaviṣyati*.

[3] *I.e.* the king's authority was needed to promote Śyāmā from a low to a higher caste.

[4] From this point the details of the story correspond more closely to the Pali *Kaṇaverajātaka*.

[5] Text has *yonaṃ*(?) *pratyabhijānatha yūyaṃ . . . śreṣṭhiputro . . . yonam = yavanam*, "a Greek," is, of course, impossible. Senart suggests that the word hides some particles like *bho nam*, "ah! then." Better, perhaps, would be *bho tam*, "Ah! you know him then." The nom. *śreṣṭhiputro* could then be explained as in partial apposition to *tam* = "(I mean) the merchant's son." It cannot be the direct object of *pratyabhijānatha*.

[6] *Āma*, Pali and BSk.

[7] This seems to be an echo of the Pali or some other version where Syāmā was strangled in a thicket of *kaṇavera* bushes, and not left to drown as in our story.

When he had heard this couplet, Vajrasena the merchant replied to the young actors in verse:—

(**176**) *Those who are overcome by passion and are eager to retaliate*[1] *do not lie down in comfort. Grateful men do not lie down in comfort; those who are addicted to vengefulness do not lie down in comfort.*

I cannot believe you any more than if you were to say the wind could carry off a mountain.[2] *How can this woman who is dead send me greeting?*

The young actors replied:—

The woman is not dead, and she longs for none but you. She wears her hair in one plait, and is distraught in her longing for you.

Vajrasena the merchant said:—

She should not take me whom she does not know in exchange[3] *for one she knew for so long, an inconstant man in exchange for a constant one.*[4] *I will go still farther away from here lest she take another in exchange for me.*

It may be, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the horse-dealer named Vajrasena was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the horse-dealer named Vajrasena. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the courtesan named Śyāmā in the city of Benares was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Yaśodharā here, monks, at that time and on that occasion (**177**) was the chief courtesan named Śyāmā in the city of Benares. Then, too, was I indifferent to her, just as on this other occasion.

Here ends the Śyāmā Jātaka.

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[1] *Kritānukāraṃ pratikartukāmā*. Cf. Pali *kiccānukubba* (*J*. 2. 205).

[2] The text has simply *vāto vā girimāvahe*. *J*. 3. 62 gives the similitude with greater explicitness. Here again, however, the rendering of gāthās in English verse in *J. trans*. is very inadequate; it is not even a paraphrase, but merely a summary.

[3] The text has *nirmiṇeyā* (*nir-mā*, "to fashion"). This should obviously be emended into *nimineyā*. Cf. Pali *nimini* and *nimineyya* in the corresponding gāthā (*J*. 3. 63), which are from *nimināti*, "to exchange for." This in form corresponds to Sk. *niminoti* (*ni-mi*), but in meaning is influenced by *ni-mā*. Cf. Sk. *nimaya*—"barter," "exchange."

[4] The context requires the change of *dhruvam adhruveṇa* into *adhruvaṃdhruveṇa*, as at *J*. 3. 63.

CAMPAKA JĀTAKA[1]

Then the monks said, "The Exalted One was saved by Yaśodharā as he was being led out to execution. Yaśodhara did much for the Exalted One when he was a Bodhisattva passing through his various lives."

The Exalted One replied, "Yes, Yaśodharā did very much for the Tathāgata as he passed through his various lives. I was saved by Yaśodharā on another occasion also when I had fallen into the hands of an enemy." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, there ruled a king named Ugrasena, who was virtuous and majestic, who treated his subjects kindly, was charitable, and possessed great wealth and a large army. His kingdom was prosperous, flourishing, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and populous with happy subjects. Violence and tumults were quelled, robbers were held in check, and trade thrived.

Now in his province there dwelt a Nāga[2] king named Campaka, who was virtuous, had accumulated outstanding goodness,[3] and had a retinue of several hundred thousands of Nāgas. The home of this Nāga king, Campaka, was like the home of a deva. Everywhere were mansions built of the seven precious stones, flowers and fruits at all seasons, and bejewelled lotus-pools covered with lotuses of various colours.[4] Not far from one of these lotus-pools was a bejewelled terrace made of white coral and with columns of beryl. And the king had a harem of sixteen thousand Nāga maidens.

He lived happy in that Nāga home like a king of the devas. Observing the three days[5] of the half-month, the eighth, the

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[1] Cf. *Campeyya Jātaka* (*J.* 4. 454 *ff.*).
[2] Rendered serpent king in *J. trans.* Cf. Vol. 1, p. 35, *n.* 4. "Nāga" is retained here, to give greater verisimilitude to the tale, for the "serpents" to all intents and purposes behave like human beings, and the use of "Nāga" avoids repeated allusion to their real character.
[3] *Utsadakuśalasaṃcayo.* On *utsada* see Vol. 1, p. 6, *n.* 1.
[4] The text enumerates them.
[5] Literally "keeping (making) three-fold," *triṣkṛitva.*

fourteenth, and the fifteenth, he kept the fast[1] at the cross-roads. He abode in freedom,[2] observing the eight rules of a layman.[3]

(**178**) Once, when the Nāga king was keeping the fast[4] at the cross-roads he was seen by a snake-charmer. And thus it was that Campaka, the Nāga king, was caught at the cross-roads by the snake-charmer, thrown into a snake-basket, and there he lay. But the Nāga king was not wroth at the snake-charmer, and though thus put away the powerful and mighty king had no desire to burn Benares and its provinces to cinders.[5] There he lay in his basket observing his vow.

Now the Nāga king had explained to his retinue certain signs. "If," said he, "any harm should come to me while I am keeping the fast at the cross-roads, these signs of it will appear in the home of the Nāgas. If the trees and fragrant lotuses in the home of the Nāgas wither, know by this sign that the king of the Nāgas has been caught. If the leaves of the trees become sere and the lotus-pools dry up, know by this sign that the king of the Nāgas has been killed."

So when Campaka, the king of the Nāgas, was held captive by the snake-charmer in his snake-basket, these signs appeared in the home of the Nāgas. Then the Nāgas, male and female, on seeing these signs in the home of the Nāgas, all sorrowed because their king had been captured. What then? Any one of them had the power to rescue the Nāga king from the hands

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[1] *Upoṣadhaṃ upoṣati.*

[2] Literally "with body released or let go," *osṛiṣṭakāya.* Cf. Pali *osaṭṭhakāyo urago carātu,* "let the snake go free." (*J.* 4. 460.)

[3] *Aṣṭāṅgasamanvāgata.* In the Pali texts this is an epithet of *uposatha,* the fast itself (e.g., *Sn.* 401 f.), as it is also in BSk. texts of *upavāsa* (= *upoṣadha,* see next page). But our text seems definitely to apply it to the personal subject of the sentence. *Upoṣadha* is so qualified, as on the fast day Buddhist laymen were required to observe the *śikṣāpadāni* (*sikkhāpadāni*). It is only in this connexion that these precepts are given as eight. They are usually five or ten in number. See Vol. 1, p. 168, *n.* 1.

[4] *Upavāsa samādatta.* For *upavāsa* see preceding note. With *samādatta,* cf. Pali use of *samādiyati.* For the incident cf. *V.* 1. 87, where Gotama says to the Nāga who wanted to attain human status, *gaccha tvaṃ nāga tatth' eva cātuddase pannarase aṭṭhamiyā ca pakkhassa uposathaṃ upavasa.* (The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner, who remarks that the *Mhvu.* allusion to the cross-roads is "striking and odd.")

[5] In the Pali version there is a preliminary story telling how the Bodhisattva had died and had been reborn as the Nāga king. There we are also told of the tortures inflicted on him by way of taming him; but he would not risk the loss of his virtue by exerting his power and wreak vengeance on his captor.

of the snake-charmer, and yet none of them would do so. And the reason for this was that the Nāga king had previously enjoined upon his retinue, saying, "If, while I am observing the fast, anyone should seize and capture me, you are not to show him any unkindness or unpleasantness.[1] For this is my supreme vow."

Then the chief queen of the Nāga king, with a company of[2] sixteen thousand female Nāgas, went to Benares and told King Ugrasena, who was seated on the terrace, of the capture of the Nāga king and of the circumstances of it. When King Ugrasena heard (**179**) the female Nāga praising the worth of the Nāga king he was delighted. The king said to the Nāga maiden, "Stay here or go to your own home until trustworthy messengers shall seek out the Nāga king and return here." The female Nāga replied, "Your majesty, you can only deliver[3] the Nāga king by compensating the snake-charmer with the gift of a village or with gold. You cannot do so by royal command."

The king replied, "So be it, O Nāga. I shall compensate the snake-charmer with the gift of a village or of gold; I shall certainly release Campaka, the Nāga king." Then the Nāga maiden said to Ugrasena, the king of Kāśi, "Campaka, the Nāga king, and his sixteen thousand females put themselves under your protection, O king." And when she had thus spoken the Nāga maiden went away.

King Ugrasena sent out messengers in all directions, telling them, "Campaka, the Nāga king, was caught while observing the fast by a snake-charmer. Fetch him."

> *The desires of devas are fulfilled by their minds; those of kings by their word of command; those of rich men speedily, and those of poor men by their own work.*[4]

In accordance with King Ugrasena's command, the messengers brought to him the snake-charmer and the Nāga king. The king compensated the snake-charmer with a village and gold, and Campaka, the Nāga king, was set free.

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[1] *Apriya vipriya.* Much less, the Buddhist moralist implies, are you to do him actual bodily harm.

[2] Lacuna in text of a word or phrase on which the genitive depends.

[3] Text has imperative, *mocehi*.

[4] This couplet occurs several times in the *Mhvu.* See Vol. 1, p. 213, *n.* 1.

Immediately on his release Campaka, the Nāga king, became again like a deva king,[1] and the abode of the Nāgas became as before, like an abode of devas. And when the people of the Nāga king saw their home as it formerly was they became glad and joyful, for it meant that the Nāga king had been set free.

Now the Nāga king was sitting on the same couch with Ugrasena, king of Kāśi, and said to him, " Your majesty, I wish that you and your court would see my realm." The king replied, " You Nāgas are bitterly venomous and fierce. I cannot come to the Nāga realm." The Nāga king said to him, " Your majesty, whosoever of us does violence to you who have just now proved a benefactor to us, let him fall with his entire body into a great hell; **(180)** let him fall to hell alive.[2] The earth, with the moon and stars, will collapse and the rivers turn back in their channels—verily I speak the truth—before I forget your good deed." The king replied, " Let it be as the Nāga king wishes. I shall come to the realm of the Nāgas."

And King Ugrasena gave orders to his ministers, saying, " Let the chariots, elephants, horses and various carriages be got ready. We go to visit the realm of the Nāgas." On the word the ministers hurried to carry out the king's command. The king, attended by his ministers and his retinue and an army in chariots, mounted the same carriage as Campaka the Nāga king. With great royal pomp and magnificence and to the people's shouts of bravo! and the roar of drums and the blare of trumpets, he left the city of Benares and went to the realm of the Nāgas. He proceeded in his carriage as far as the ground allowed, and then, with his retinue, went on foot into the realm of Campaka the Nāga king.

Then he saw the realm of Campaka, the Nāga king, which was like the abode of devas, beautified by thousands of trees bearing flowers and fruits, decked out in variegated garlands, adorned with bejewelled lotus-pools covered with bright lotuses of various colours,[3] and containing bejewelled upper rooms and terraces with pillars of beryl and roofs of white coral. The king of Kāśi was led by Campaka, the Nāga king to a bejewelled couch.

[1] Literally " became having the attributes of, " *devarājaviṣayo samvṛitto.*
[2] Reading *jīvo* for *jīvaṃ.*
[3] The text names them.

The sixteen thousand Nāga maidens went up to Campaka, the Nāga king, and asked him, "How did you fare among your foes? How did you dispel hunger and thirst? And how were you set free thence?" The Nāga king replied, "I got as much food and drink as was proper, and I was set free by this king of Kāśi."

Then the sixteen thousand Nāga maidens of the Nāga king became glad and joyful, and they gave King Ugrasena hundreds of cartloads of pearls mingled with beryl.

Campaka, the Nāga king, (181) regarded the realm of King Ugrasena in every way as the abode of devas.[1] He watched over the royal palace, and when a fire broke out extinguished it.

Here ends the introduction in prose[2] of the story of Campaka, the Nāga king.[3]

Then,[4]

Who, tell me, are you who gleam like the lightning, like a star reflected in a pool, or like a twig of the tāmra[5] *tree blossoming in the wood?*

You were born in Nandana or the Citraratha grove.[6] *You are a deva or Gandharva. Human you are not.*

The Nāga maiden replied:—

I am no deva nor Gandharva, nor, your majesty, a human being. Sir, I am a Nāga maiden, come hither on a quest.[7]

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[1] A lame ending to the prose story, containing, as it does, but a feeble allusion to the riches conferred on the king of Kāśi by the Nāgas as described in the Pali version and in the verse below. The next sentence implies that Campaka continued his services to Ugrasena after the latter's return to his home.

[2] *Parikalpapada.*

[3] The verse redaction following begins abruptly. In the Pali version these verses are interwoven in the framework of the story to form a coherent whole with the prose. In fact, the division of the story into prose and verse looks quite artificial.

[4] *Atha*—implying, of course, some preceding matter which does not appear here. The correct place of this question would be in the prose passage describing the appearance of the Nāga maiden before the king.

[5] *Tāmrapādapa, cf. tāmrapādī,* "a kind of plant related to the Mimosa pudica." Or, perhaps, the allusion is merely to any tree with coppery or red branches or leaves.

[6] The names of two parks in Trāyastriṃśa.

[7] *Avicī* for *avicid* (cf. *kiṃcī* below), *avī* being participial adjective from *av*, "to wish for," *etc.* The expression is rather strange, and perhaps the reading is incorrect. One MS. has *acīnī*, which may suggest that the correct reading should be *arthinī*, especially as the corresponding Pali (*J.* 4. 459) reads *atthen(a) amhi idhāgatā.*

The king said :—

Your heart is aflame. Your senses disturbed,[1] *and the tears stream from your eyes. What have you lost? What do you seek by coming here? Briefly tell me this.*

The Nāga maiden replied :—

A man came and seized for his livelihood him whom they call a fiery serpent, him whom they call a Nāga. Sire, deliver him, my husband, from his bonds.

(182) *The Nāga could indeed burn the city to cinders, for with such great power is he endowed. But this Nāga, while seeking*[1] *for the dharma, fell into the hands of a begging tramp.*

The king said :—

How can one believe that such a fiery, strong and stalwart Nāga should have been caught,[1] *that an unrivalled and invincible serpent should fall into the hands of a begging tramp?*

The Nāga maiden replied :—

The Nāga king went each fourteenth, fifteen and eighth day of the half-month to the cross-roads, and while he tarried there in freedom he fell into the hands of a begging tramp.

Thus you should believe that the Nāga, fiery, strong and stalwart though he be, the unrivalled, invincible serpent, was caught and fell into the hands of a begging tramp.

The king said :—

Be seated or stand, O Nāga maid, or go to your own home, until the messengers whom I'll bid to go[1] *and fetch him, shall find your glorious Nāga mate.*

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[1] *Viluta*, for BSk. *vilulita* = Sk. *vilolita*.

[2] *Yācamāno*, a rather unusual application of this verb, which ordinarily means "to beg for." If it is the right reading here, it may, as Senart suggests, be intended as antithesis of *vaṇīpakasya* (BSk. = Pali *vanibbaka*). But perhaps, *ayam yācamāno* in our text should be emended into *apacāyamāno* "honouring" as in the Pali version. Cf. *apacāyaka* (Vol. 1, 198 text), which is BSk. for Pali *apacāyika*.

[3] Senart, however, takes *gṛihīta* as = *nigṛihīta*, "qui a réprimé le Nāga, qui a dissimulé sa force et son apparence de Nāga," and assumes that *osṛiṣṭakāyo* in the next stanza refers to this, *i.e.* that it means "having abandoned or let go (the normal powers of) his body." But *osṛiṣṭakāyo* seems rather to mean "free" or "in freedom." See *n*. 2. p. 192, above.

[4] Reading *gatā* for *gato*. *Nīyatāṃ ti*, "let him be brought" quote the words of the king's command.

(183) The Nāga maiden replied :—

Justly and without violence set him free. With ransom of a village or of gold or of a hundred kine, let the Nāga king now in bondage be set free as one who is desirous of merit.[1]

The king said :—

Justly and without violence I will free him, with ransom of a village or of gold or of a hundred kine. Let the serpent go in freedom. Let the Nāga king win through to joy.

The Nāga maiden replied :—

Sixteen thousand Nāga maidens, gay with jewels and with rings, who make their home in the water, come to you, O lord, for protection.

The king's messengers brought in the snake-charmer and the Nāga king. Then King Ugrasena said :—

I give you, hunter,[2] *massive earrings of jewels, a hundred pieces of gold, a four-cornered*[3] *couch bright as a garland of flowers, and a wife like a goddess, if you set the serpent king free.*

The snake-charmer replied :—

Without your gifts, O king, and at your command alone, I set him free. The Nāga king is righteous, of great power, and with his gaze on the world beyond. Mighty is he, yet he harms no one.

(184) When he had been set free, Campaka the Nāga said to the king of Kāśi :—

Honour to you, O king of Kāśi, honour to you who bring

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[1] *Puṇyārthiko, i.e.*, no violence is to be used in his behalf as this would mar his chance of winning merit. *J. trans.* has for *puññatthiko*, "that will win merit for thee." This rendering is neither grammatically correct, nor is it in keeping with the context.

[2] Reading *ludda* (Pali = Sk. *raudra*), "hunter," for *labdham* of the text.

[3] Reading *catutsada* (*catu : utsada*) for *catu : śata*, "four hundred" of the text. *J. trans.* renders the Pali *catussada*, "four-cushioned." For *utsada* see Vol. 1, of this translation, p. 6, *n.* 1.

increase to Kāśi. I salute you. Come, O king, and see my abode.[1]

King Ugrasena said :—

What I did for you, O Nāga, was a difficult thing to do. You were in trouble. Now you are free from bondage. The sons of this world are ungrateful for what is done for them. But do not you, O Nāga, be forgetful of what I have done.

The Nāga king replied :—

May he live long in hell, and may he experience no bodily pleasure, who hurts the king our former benefactor and is not grateful to you for what you have done for us.[2]

The king said :—

You Nāgas are full of bitter venom ; you are proud and powerful and quick to anger. So, O Nāga, I believe that you, a non-human, are wroth with us humans.[3]

The Nāga king replied :—

May he fall headlong to that hell, where the floor is made of knives, and have his feet up and head down, **(185)** *who hurts the king our former benefactor and is not grateful to you for what you have done for us.*

Though the wind should carry off the mountains, and moon and sun fall in ruin ; though every stream should flow backwards in its channel, never, O king, could I speak an untruth.

The king said :—

As the Nāga king wishes, so be it, O lord of serpents. I shall come, as you request, to see your abode.

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[1] Literally, " See our abode," *paśya mo niveśanam.* The corresponding Pali (*J.* 4. 462) has *passeyyam me nivesanam*—" I'll go to see my home." But the *Mhvu.* seems to have the more correct reading, as the subsequent context shows that a request was made to the king that he should visit the abode of the Nāgas.

[2] This must be the sense, but the text is *asmādṛiśo tuhya kṛitaṃ na jāne,* " like us is not grateful, etc." This is not intelligible, and it looks as though we should, following the corresponding Pali (*J.* 4. 463), emend into *yo tādṛiśaṃ,* etc., " who is not grateful to you for such a deed."

[3] *No manuṣasya,* a singular substantive in apposition to a plural pronoun, the explanation being, either that the latter is a *pluralis majestatis* or that the former is a generic substantive with a plural signification.

Then King Ugrasena said to his ministers :—

Let the gleaming royal chariots be got ready and the well-trained Kambodian[1] *horses. See that the elephants be harnessed in their trappings of gold. I go to see the abodes of the Nāgas.*

His ministers replied :—

Now are the gleaming chariots ready, and the well-trained Kambodian horses. The elephants have now been harnessed in their trappings of gold. The king can set out in all his pomp.

Thus did the king set out with his fourfold army, attended by his friends and counsellors, and followed by his folk.

(186) *Drum and tabor, cymbal and conch, and the lute as well, were played in honour of King Ugrasena. And forth he went with all his might, honoured amid a host of women.*

When the king of the Kāśis came to the abode of the Nāga king, he saw that the Nāga king's realm was like that of the devas.

The king of the Kāśis saw that the abode of the Nāga king was full of mangoes and rose-apple trees, and was a haunt of many cuckoos.

Everywhere and at all seasons the forest trees were in bloom and wafted fragrant scents in the Nāga king's abode.

There were well-fashioned lotus-pools with stairs of gold and silver, and covered over with red and white and blue lotuses, the haunt of various birds.

Terraces with columns of beryl and roofs spread with white coral did the king of Kāśi see in the abode of the Nāga king.

And when the king of Kāśi entered the abode of the Nāga king he went to lie on a splendid couch of gold and silver.

When the Nāgas saw that he had come with Campaka, the Nāga king, with joined hands raised they bowed before their king and the king of Kāśi.

And a Nāga maiden asked, " When you were among your foes, how did you dispel thirst and hunger ? "

[1] Kamboja (Kambojaka) " One of the sixteen Mahājanapadas which, with Gandhāra, belonged, not to the Majjhimadesa but, evidently, to the Uttarāpatha. It is often mentioned as the famous birthplace of horses, e.g. *DA.* 1. 124 ; *AA.* 1. 399 ; *Vism.* 332 ; also *J.* 4. 464." (*D.P.N.*)

(**187**) The Nāga king replied :—

I had such food and drink as was proper to dispel my hunger and thirst. And this king of Kāśi soon set me free from my bonds.

Then the sixteen thousand Nāga maidens extolled Ugrasena, the king of Kāśi :—

Joy then, O king of Kāśi, to you and all your folk, as joy is ours this day in seeing once again our serpent lord.

Joy, then, to you, O king, and to all your folk, as joy is ours this day in common with our lord.

I give[1] *the king five hundred cartloads of pearls mingled with beryl. When they are spread on the floor of your palace they will cover earth and dust.*[2]

Then the king, seeing such a women's hall made like a mansion of the devas, will amuse himself with the throng of women and rule over the prosperous city of the Kāśis.

King Ugrasena said :—

Well clothed in upper garment of cotton, you could live there[3] *in inimitable beauty and in possession of celestial pleasures. Why then should you live on the ground ?*[4]

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[1] Reading *dadāmi* for *dadāsi* of the text.

[2] This stanza and the next are obviously, even without the evidence of *J.*, misplaced here. They should come at the end of the story where the king is given a parting gift. Also, Senart has been unfortunate in his construction of the text. *Dadāsi* for *dadāmi* has already been noted. His last couplet of the first stanza reads *anta:pure bhūmi samāstarā hi niṣkardamā tviṣimati nīrarāja*, which could only mean " the floor of your palace is of great expanse and without dirt, O energetic king of the water." Senart is under the mistaken impression that the reference is to the king of the Nāgas. But the sense is easily restored by emending the last line (following the Pali at *J.* 4. 468) into *niṣkardamā bheṣyati nīrajā ca*, " it (the floor) will be without earth and without dust " *i.e.* it will be covered by the jewels. Two MSS. actually have *bheṣyati* and *bhaviṣyati* respectively. For *bhūmi samāstarā* the Pali has *bhūmiyaṃ santharantu*, and the participle *saṃstīrṇā* would suit our text better, but there is no MS. evidence to guide the restoration here. For the special use of *saṃstṛi* (Pali *santharati*) to denote " covering with layers " or " spreading in layers," see Miss I. B. Horner : *Book of the Discipline*, 2, pp. xxii *ff*. Meanwhile, *bhūmi samāstarā* may be interpreted as " the floor a couch (for the pearls) " = " the floor spread with the pearls."

[3] The corresponding Pali (*J.* 4. 465) reads differently, having instead of *tvam* qualified by singular adjectives, the plural third pers. f. *tā* with correspondingly inflected adjectives, and *pāyenti* instead of *yāpenta*. This gives the sense that the Nāga maidens were thus beautifully dressed waiting on their king with drink. This latter sense would seem to be more apposite, but there is no MS. justification, apparently, for the emendation of the *Mhvu.* text, however slight that would need to be.

[4] *I.e.*, referring to his living as a serpent on the ground.

(188) The Nāga king replied :—

Not otherwise can one become a human being or life under the free air of heaven be devised.[1] *I seek birth as a human being, that is why I practise austerities.*[2]

King Ugrasena reflected :—

Now that I have seen how Nāgas, male and female, long for the life of human beings, what fair deed shall I perform that will make me safe from a state of woe?[3]

The Exalted one, the Master, calling to mind a former abode, a former birth, related this Jātaka to his monks.

The Exalted One explained the subject-matter of it in a discussion of the skandhas, *the* dhātus, *the* āyatanas *and the* ātman.[4]

" When of yore I lived one of my lives in the round of rebirth that has no beginning or end, then was I Campaka, the powerful Nāga king, and Yaśodharā was the Nāga maid Thus understand the Jātaka."

Rid of old age, fear and grief, he told his monks of this birth of his, of all his many and infinite sufferings, his long faring up and down in the past.

The Exalted One said, " Then, monks, as the Nāga I was caught by the snake-charmer for the sake of my flesh, but was set free through the instrumentality of Yaśodharā. And when I was a horse-dealer in Benares, then also was I set free by her."

Here ends the Jātaka of Campaka, the Nāga king.

[1] As distinct, that is, from the subaqueous life of a Nāga.

[2] Here, again, the first two lines differ from the Pali (*J.* 4. 467), but not so much as to conceal that both derive from a common original. The Pali reads *Janinda nāññatra manussalokā suddhī ca saṃvijjati saṃyamo ca,* " O king, nowhere but in the world of men can purity and control be found." Two MSS. of the *Mhvu.* in reading *saṃyamo* for *saṃgamo* would seem to imply that the Pali is nearer the original.

[3] Literally, " that goes beyond a state of woe " *apāyasamatikramam.*

[4] See *n.* 4, p. 90 above.

GOTAMA'S EARLY WANDERINGS

(**189**) When the Bodhisattva had gone away, Chandaka turned back from the place Anomiya, and he and Kaṇṭhaka came to Kapilavastu. When King Śuddhodana heard that Chandaka had arrived bringing with him Kaṇṭhaka, the sunshade and the jewels, he ran out of his palace to the hall outside the gates, accompanied by his women. And Yaśodharā threw her arms around Kaṇṭhaka's neck, wept, and said, " O Kaṇṭhaka, where have you taken the prince ? What offence have I given you and Chandaka that you should take the prince away when I was sleeping blissfully ? I and the sixty thousand women of the palace are bereaved."

Chandaka replied, " What wrong have we done ? For when the prince was leaving home I called out in a loud voice and Kaṇṭhaka neighed loudly, but there was none of you who woke up. Thousands of *koṭis*[1] of devas gathered in the air.

" The prince has been taken to a place called Anomiya, in the country of the Mallas, not far from the hermitage of the seer Vasiṣṭha. He gave his garments of Benares cloth to a hunter in exchange for a yellow garb. He himself cut off the lock of hair on the top of his head with a knife, and this lock of hair was taken[1] by Śakra, the lord of devas.

" Then the prince gave us[1] his jewels, and we returned. And thus did he enjoin me. 'Greet my father for me,' said he, 'and my aunt and all my kinsfolk.' And I shall come, when I have done my duty and fulfilled my mission."

Yaśodharā, the sixty thousand women of the palace and the whole kingdom of the Śākyans wept and wailed, and all departed, each to his own home.

When Chandaka entered the royal palace, regal and choice food and drink were brought him. As for Kaṇṭhaka, sweetmeats mixed with honey were set before him, and other regal solid and soft food were heaped up before him. But Kaṇṭhaka did not eat them. (**190**) He remembered the Bodhisattva, and

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 3, *n*. 5.

[2] *Praticchita*, Pali for BSk. *pratīcchita*.

[3] *Mo*, corrected by Senart from *mām*. He, however, takes it for nominative subject of the verb. But it would seem better to take it as genitive, object of *dattvā*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 290, *n*. 2. The whole sentence is *mo kumāreṇa ābharaṇāni dattvā nivartitā*.

shed tears all the time. Some women of the palace with their regal and costly garments of cloth, silk and wool wiped Kaṇṭhaka's tears. Others stroked his head, others his neck, others his back, others his shoulders, others his forelimbs, others his joints, others his tail, and others his hoofs. Some held morsels steeped in honey to his mouth, others fodder of various kinds, others dung,[1] others sweetmeats, others regal drinks in vessels of gold and silver studded with precious stones. But Kaṇṭhaka would not feed. He starved through grieving for the Bodhisattva, and died because he could not see him. When he died his body was honoured by King Śuddhodana with royal magnificence.

Immediately after death Kaṇṭhaka was reborn among the Trāyastriṃśa devas, becoming the son of the deva Śikhaṇḍi, and named Kaṇṭhaka. He was a deva of great might and power, and excelled all the other thousands who had been reborn before him as devas in the ten deva attributes of length of life, complexion, happiness, authority, retinue, form, voice, smell, taste and touch.[2]

When the Exalted One had set rolling the excellent wheel of dharma and was occupied with spreading his doctrine,[3] Mahā-Maudgalyāyana went on a visit to the world of devas. While he was there he saw the deva, Kaṇṭhaka, and having seen him he addressed him in verse.[4]

(191) *As the moon on its fifteenth day, accompanied by its constellations, lights up all quarters, while the stars disappear from the sky,*

So does this celestial home of thine in the city of the devas, flashing in its beauty, gleam like the sun.

Well-fashioned is the floor thereof, and bright with crystal and pearl and crimson gem, and no dust can be raised from it.

Thy pleasant terraces are of beryl, gold, crystal and silver, with upper rooms of graceful form.

Not far from the terraces are finely fashioned lotus-pools, with stairs of beryl strewn with golden sand.

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[1] ? *ukkarikāni.*
[2] Cf. Vol. 1, pp. 25, *f.*
[3] *Vaistārikaśāsanasañjāta.*
[4] This is the theme of *Vv.* 81, also, but there are notable differences in the two texts.

On their banks grow stately trees, with branches shooting high, rising up from the sky towards Brahmā's citadel. Stirred by the wind, they sway in all directions.[1]

On their banks grow stately trees, with branches shooting high. All the four quarters are gay with flowers and resound to the sweet songs of birds.

Every part is covered with red and white and blue lotuses and is fragrant with the scent of various flowers.

Sixty Apsarases dance, each with a musical instrument,[2] (**192**) *and as these celestial maidens dance in the grove a celestial sound is heard as from a flock of female birds.*

Thou takest thy joy among heaven's throng on a couch fitted with precious stones, its feet of gold, well made and well fashioned.

Resplendent as Brahmā art thou on this couch with its feet of gold and fitted with precious stones, as thou lookest out on the four quarters.

And as thou reclinest on this couch with its downy cushions, celestial maidens arrayed in finery fan thee with chowrie fans.

For thee do these crowds of Apsarases gaily decked in network of gold wave their arms,[3] *dance and harmoniously sing.*

Some of the Apsarases here sing and play on their instruments, and others dance to the accompaniment of the harmonious music.

Others, all over the place, make gentle noise with their hands and feet. From the hair of others are wafted divine scents.

This abode of thine is made beautiful by celestial maidens who are fairer than the lotus. Ah, it is an abode enshrined in gold and adorned by Apsarases.

What deed didst thou perform of yore in other lives, by the root of merit of which thou wast reborn in Trāyastriṃśa?

What deed didst thou perform in a former life as a human being (**193**) *by the root of merit of which thou hast reaped this reward?*

How didst thou win this mastery over life, this glory, might, and prosperity, and dost enjoy celestial company?

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[1] Reading *sarvadiśāṃ* for °*diśā*.

[2] Literally "On (to, with) each single musical instrument," *ekamekasmiṃ tūryasmiṃ*. For *tūrya* see Vol. 1, p. 135, *n*. 2.

[3] *Bāhā*, Pali for *bāhu*.

What fair deed didst thou perform in one of thy previous lives? By what deed of merit dost thou enjoy this reward?

By what holy living, by what self-control, by what deed of merit dost thou rejoice in heaven's company?

How didst thou come by this dazzling power and this beauty? By what deed of merit dost thou illumine all the quarters? I ask thee, O deva, tell me of what karma this is the fruit.

And the deva, thus questioned by Maudgalyāyana himself, in reply thus made answer to the elder—so have I heard.

I dwelt in Kapilavastu, the chief city of the Śākyans, with its cluster of high buildings and castles, and many a strong gateway.

In the home of the Śākyans' chief, crowded with horses, elephants and chariots, with its gates of firm bolts and panels, and pinnacles of lizards' heads.[1]

In this well-built, populous city, I was the steed of Śuddhodana's son, and was born the same time as he.

And when the Best of Men left home and took to a wanderer's life, then did he speak and utter a most perfect speech.

(194) *And as soon as I heard this speech, thrilled and stirred, I obediently carried the Supreme of Men.*

We came to a land of strangers, and at sunrise he left me and Chandaka and went on his way unheeding.

With my tongue I licked his feet with their tawny nails, and I wept as, looking up, I saw the Supreme of Men going away.

At the thought that no longer should I see the renowned son of the Śākyans, cruel pangs assailed me, and I resolved to die.

And in virtue of that, I now dwell in this mansion that is most excellent, thronged with fair women, and filled with pinnacled buildings.

If, sir, you should go into the presence of the Śākyan lion, greet the Supreme of Men in Kaṇṭhaka's name.

And I, too, would love to salute the Supreme of Men. Verily, good is it to behold such mighty seers.

'Tis thus that I won the radiance of this life, its glory and its strength, this magic power, and this divine company.

[1] Barth compares the Makkaras at Bharhut.

As a reward for my holy life, my self-restraint, and self-control, I've got such magic power as this, unfailing and more than human.

As for the fair karma that I stored up of yore, I am now enjoying the fruit of it.

All the joys that are dear to the mind are now my lot. Devas pay me worship, and I am honoured[1] *of them.*

(195) *Set your hearts on him who is outstanding*[2] *among those deserving of offerings. Thus it is seen that a fair karma was accumulated by one who was merely a horse.*[3]

Here ends the exposition of Kaṇṭhaka in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

Then, in the confines of the forest retreat, the Śuddhāvāsa devas created a hunter garbed in yellow. And the Bodhisattva saw him.

Then did he see in the forest retreat a hunter clothed in yellow. He went up to him and said,

"Take my two robes of Benares cloth and give me your yellow garb." The hunter took the two robes of Benares cloth and gave him his yellow garb.

And when he had taken the suit of yellow cloth he became glad and elated, and he said, "This, now, is the excellent, prudent way for me to win the uttermost good."

The Bodhisattva entered the forest where dharma was taught,[4] the retreat of the seer Vasiṣṭha. And when Vasiṣṭha the seer saw the Bodhisattva he wondered who he might be. Was he a man, a deva, Śakra, or Brahmā that, with the radiance

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[1] Reading *apacita* for *upacita*, "stored up," which makes no sense here and may be due to its occurrence in both the preceding and the following stanzas.

[2] Literally "such" *tādṛiśam*. We should expect the locative *tādṛiśe* in apposition to *tasmin*. Senart renders *tādṛiśam*, "comme moi," *i.e.* as a sort of adverbial accusative, but this would seem to leave *dakṣiṇīyeṣu* without syntactical connexion with the rest of the sentence. The accusative word may plausibly be explained as due to the distance between it and the word to which it is in apposition, the indirect object coming to be felt as a direct object.

[3] Adopting Senart's conjecture that *rakṣabhūtena* (= by a rakṣa or rākṣasa) should be changed to *aśvabhūtena*.

[4] *Dharmāraṇya*, an unusual compound.

of his body, he should flood this grove of penance? All the young Brāhman students, when they saw the Bodhisattva, hurriedly ran each to his own hut, fetched fruits of various kinds and drink, and then went to meet the Bodhisattva.

There he saw the aged, the greatly wise, the best of seers, named Vasiṣṭha after his clan, and went up to him.

He saw him with matted hair like a flame ruddy amid dark smoke, (196) *seated calmly like the windless ocean.*

The Śākyan hero, whose self was the dharma,[1] *appeared before the sage and, bidden to enter, went into his retreat.*

When the sage, profound as ocean and mighty as the Himalayas, saw the son of the Śākyan king, he wondered

Who this might be, glorious of form, dazzling more than the lightning's flash, all golden, gleaming like a smokeless, blazing[2] *fire.*

Broadchested was he, with mighty arms, and admirable hands and fingers; compact was his belly, slender his figure; his carriage that of an antelope, and his hips were prominent.[3]

He was like a pillar of gold, and his eyes flashed like a bull's. His bust was like that of a tiger, his feet and hands like the lotus.[4]

His body was bright with the marks won by the virtues of a hundred lives, as the moon is bright among the stars.

There were no befitting bright ornaments on his limbs; these characteristics alone adorned the body of the great-souled one.

As the true son of Meru's circle[5] *moved on stately as an elephant, the earth suddenly re-echoed to the tread of his feet.*

With his tender, deep and resonant voice, he was capable of ordering effectively all the three worlds.

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[1] *Dharmātmā*, another unusual compound.

[2] *Jotimāna*, a Prakrit form for *jyoti°*. So Senart.

[3] In these stanzas we have a rough and ready description of the greater and lesser characteristics of a Mahāpuruṣa. See Vol. 1, pp. 180, *ff.* and Vol. 2, pp. 40 *f.*

[4] The text here is corrupt. The stanza ends *padmapādakaro nagha:* The last word is printed with a question mark, and is otherwise known only in the compound *naghamāra* (see *B.R.*). It gives no sense here. The metre is against reading *°karanakho*, which would give the sense of "the nails on his hands and feet were like the lotus."

[5] ? *Merumaṇḍalasāra.*

"By all these secondary and principal characteristics which I have enumerated, **(197)** *he is marked as the supreme lord of all beings in the three worlds.*

"With the radiance that flows from his entire body[1] *he fills all this grove of penance like the rising sun.*

"Endowed as he is with the eighty minor characteristics and the thirty-two marks of excellence, this dazzling young man is like Sanatkumāra."[2]

The great seer went up to the young man so endowed with all the marks, the most charming of all beings, saying[3] *"I'll question him."*

"Young man," said he, "thou art like a Gandharva, like the moon, like an offspring of a deva. Why and with what purpose art thou come to this grove of penance?"

He, the king's son, the son of all that is,[4] *replied in words that were concerned with truth, but gentle, and affectionate in tone,*

"I am a scion of Ikṣvāku's[5] *family, the son of King Śuddhodana. But I have left the world and renounced the kingdom, intent on release.*

"For I saw the world oppressed by many ills, birth, disease, old age, and other ills, and so I left home for the sake of release.

"Where everything knows no becoming, where everything ceases, where everything is stopped, that region do I seek."

When this had been spoken, then did the greatly wise, magnanimous and truthful seer reply to the prince of speakers, the son of the Śākyans' king,

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[1] *Śarīrasamucchrayā*, a tautological compound, *samucchraya* itself meaning "body," see Vol. 1, p. 134, *n.* 1. Here it is ablative, with *ā* = *ād* (*āt*).

[2] One of the four sons of Brahmā and oldest of the progenitors of mankind.

[3] Adopting one of Senart's conjectures, supplying *iti* after *paripriccheyam* and taking *upagamya* as being for *upagame*, an example of the orthography *ya* for *e* which Senart finds also on the preceding page. Although the preceding passage starts as *oratio obliqua* dependent on *vismito abhūt*, "wondered," before the end it imperceptibly passes into direct speech.

[4] The text has *sarvabhūtātmayā*, which might conceivably mean something like "(in words, *girā*) consonant with all reality" (literally "were the self of all things.") But such an epithet is hardly appropriate to *gir*, and Senart is forced to interpret it as "qui pénètre, qui va à tous les êtres," an interpretation which seems to ignore *-ātma* altogether. Miss I. B. Horner makes the interesting suggestion that we should read *sarvabhūtātmajā* and take it, in spite of the *-jā*, to be in apposition to *nṛiipātmaja*, "the king's son." The epithet is quite appropriate when we consider who the king's son was, for it may be taken as a way of expressing the fact that the Buddha was the embodiment of the truth of all things.

[5] See Vol. 1. pp. 77, 293.

"O thou that art greatly blessed with such conduct, with such behaviour that has won the marks of excellence, and with wisdom, there is nothing that thou wilt not attain to."

(**198**) Then the Bodhisattva went to Veśālī[1] and attached himself to Ārāḍa Kālāma.[2] But perceiving that his was not the way of deliverance[3], he left him and went to Rājagṛiha.

He who was covered with the fair marks of excellence went to Rājagṛiha, and, living in a mountain fastness in Magadha, went about for alms.

Śreṇiya,[4] king of Magadha, from his terrace saw him. He was gladdened at the sight, and said to his ministers,

"Sirs, behold him who is covered with the fair marks of excellence. Tall and stately is he, but looks before him no farther than a plough's length.[5]

"Thoughtful, with his uplifted gaze, he is not born of an ignoble family. Let royal messengers follow on his trail to see to what abode he goes."

And the messengers so enjoined followed behind on his trail to see whither the monk would go, to what home he would make his way.

When he had completed his round for alms, the sage left the town. He made for Pāṇḍava[6], and there would his abode be found.

Understanding that he had come to his home, one of the messengers went in after him, and another quickly went back and told the king.

"Your majesty," said he, "the monk is on Pāṇḍava, eastwards from here. He is seated at the foot of a tree, calm and composed.

"He is lithe as a panther, bright as a tiger on a mountain ridge, like a lion in a mountain fastness—a mighty lion, king of beasts, is he."

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 208, *n.* 2.
[2] See above p. 114 *f.*
[3] *Mārga nairyāṇika.* Cf. Pali *niyyānika.*
[4] Sreṇiya Bimbisāra. See Vol. 1, p. 210, *n.* 1.
[5] *Yugamātramna prekṣati*, a special characteristic of Pratyekabuddhas, see Vol. 1, p. 119, *n.* 3.
[6] Pali Paṇḍava, a hill near Rājagṛiha. Cf. *J.* 1. 66, *Sn.* 414.

Thereupon the king hurriedly spoke to his ministers, " (199) *Quickly make the way clear. We go to see the Best of Men."*

And the royal servants of high rank and renown quickly cleared the way, saying, "The king himself is coming this way."

The royal servants of high rank and renown came and reported to the king, "Sire," said they, "the way to Pāṇḍava is clear."

Then the king set out with his fourfold army, accompanied by his friends and ministers and escorted by a crowd of his kinsfolk.

He alighted from his chariot, and went onwards on foot.[1] *The king approached the Bodhisattva alone, greeted him courteously, sat down opposite him and thus addressed him:*

"Happy art thou. I offer thee a kingdom with an army of cavalry.[2] *You can enjoy riches. I ask thee, tell me who are thy people."*

The Bodhisattva replied:—

"O king, my country is on the slopes of the Himalayas. Endowed with wealth and strength, I dwelt among the Kośalas.[3] *I am an Ādityan*[4] *by clan and a Śākyan by family.*

"But I went away from my home, going not to seek pleasures but to renounce them and leave my rich home."

[The king said:]

"So be it, then. Go thou on to gain[5] *release. And when thou hast won enlightenment, then come hither again.* (200) *Teach me the dharma, O Gotama, that hearkening to it I may pass on to heaven."*

The Bodisattva replied:

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[1] *Padasā*, instrumental of the consonantal(*s*) declension, *padas*. Cf. Pali.

[2] Adopting Senart's very tentative conjecture of *rājyam aśvāroham sainyakam* for the MS. reading *rājna aśvāroha va selako*, which is untranslateable.

[3] See Vol. 1, pp, 29, 265 *ff.*, 295 *f.*

[4] Āditya, Pali *Ādicca*, another name for Sūrya (Suriya), the sun. It was also the *gotra* name of the Śākyans. (*D.P.N.*)

[5] *Spriśāhi*. Cf. Pali *phusati* in sense of "to gain."

"So, surely, your majesty, shall it come to pass. I shall gain enlightenment, of that I have no doubt. And when I have gained it, I shall return here, and teach you the dharma. This I promise you."

When the Bodhisattva was with Udraka Rāmaputra,[1] he perceived that his was not the way of deliverance.[2] So he left him and came to Gayā.[3] And on Mount Gayāśīrsa the three similitudes[4] appeared to him. Thence he went to Uruvilvā, which he entered in quest of alms. Kāśyapa Pūraṇa[5] had also come thither for alms.

Putting aside all hindrances,[6] listen all ye with attentive mind and hear how the glorious Bodhisattva resorted to the haunts of former Buddhas.[7]

Having gone to live the religious life with Ārāḍa and Udraka and not finding satisfaction in their retreat, he went on towards the south, to the land resorted to by former Conquerors.

Begging for alms on the way, he, bright as an ornament of gold, reached Uruvilvā. In course of time, he came to the house of a village overseer which was crowded with men and women.

The village overseer had a daughter named Sujātā,[8] who was accomplished and well brought up. And when she saw the prince, she was stirred by the passion of love.

She shed tears as she stood before him reverently and respectfully,[9] (201) *and she spoke to the prince, saying, "Noble sir, depart not to-day.*

"O thou whose face is like the full moon, do not leave this place utterly and for ever. My eyes can never have enough of gazing upon thee, O valiant one.

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[1] See above p. 116 *f.*
[2] *Mārga niryānika,* see above p. 189, *n.* 3.
[3] See above p. 117. A version of these events has already been given above (pp. 126 *ff.*) as an account given by the Buddha to his monks. The first version would seem to be nearer the Pali tradition, while this second version has affinities with that in *Lal. Vist.*
[4] See above p. 117 *ff.*
[5] See Vol. 1, p. 208.
[6] See Vol. 1, p. 117, *n.* 1.
[7] *Purimajinasangamo.*
[8] See above p. 126, *n.* 7.
[9] *Sapatissa,* metrically for the Pali *sappaṭissa.* The BSk. form is *sapratīśa* (see Vol. 1, p. 137, *n.* 1).

"O thou that art lovely and brave, bearing the beautiful marks and wearing fine jewels,[1] *why dost thou pass on when my heart is utterly blind*[2] *with unrequited love?"*[3]

Then she heard the voices of female devas in the sky saying[4] *"Verily, he is the son of King Śuddhodana from Kapilavastu."*

But she, eager to have him in sight, ran out of the village and lauded his many virtues, telling how the noble man was exiled from kith and kin.

A crowd of women with her wept, and followed after him whose beauty was golden. And she piteously bewailed him who was going to roam the forest.

"Fortunate," said she, "will the wild beasts and their herds be, and the devas, the lords of the woods, who will behold the valiant man roaming the glades with the gait of a lordly swan.

"With limbs like delicate flowers, and feet sheer jewels the colour of the lotus leaf, how wilt thou walk over difficult ground tangled with kuśa-*grass and leaves?*

"Thou wast brought up on savoury dainty foods, thy body thrived on divers fine essences. How wilt thou live on a diet of roots and fruits and leaves in the forest with its tumbling mountain streams?[5]

"Having been wont to sleep on a bed with feet of ivory and gold, with fine coverlets, and strewn with flowers, how wilt thou live on a ground strewn with kuśa-*grass and leaves?*

"O noble man, in thy home thou wast wont to listen to the music of drum and tabour, (202) *but now wilt thou hear the harsh, dreadful and roaring snort of the angry elephant.*

"Mayst thou find a spot well furnished with roots and leaves and fruits, and a haunt of beasts that are gentle. O forest-wanderer, may the rock not torment thee when thou art thirsty and hungry.

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[1] This is inconsistent, for we have already been told that Gotama had sent his jewels home by Chanda. But this is only evidence that this version is from another tradition.

[2] Note disagreement of genders in *sarvāndhakṛito hṛidayam.*

[3] Literally "(the heart) of me unsatisfied," *atriptāyā me.*

[4] *Bhāṣantām,* an irregular form, demanded by the metre, qualifying *devatānām.* One MS. reads *narāṇām ca bhāṣatām,* but *nabhagatānām* and the context show that the allusion is to devas.

[5] ? *Nirjharavana,* "forest of cascades."

"When thou art scorched by summer's heat mayst thou find an embowered grove with a spring of water, And when it is cold in thy mountain caverns, may there be a cloudless sun.

"May Rākṣasas, Yakṣas and serpents guard thy body, the delicate body of the offspring of devas, which delighteth heart and eye more than stars and moon."

But he came to the lower slopes of the Vindhyas, like a noble elephant desiring the lotus. Listen to the description of this variegated grove of penance in the fair forest.

Here are creeping plants with scarlet shoots in a glade of young and beautiful blossoming trees. Here they are burnt by a forest deva, there broken by an elephant's tread.

Here is a tree adorned with inaccessible fruits hanging among the dense, impenetrable foliage; there an ancient hollowed tree, its root covered over with the thick brushwood of the forest.

Here, my men,[1] *is the rare beauty of the lotus; there the forest is laved by*[2] *a mountain stream, and there the hermit's retreat echoes all around to the songs of cuckoos, parrots and peacocks.*

Here are jungles overgrown with grass and pitted with holes [ ];[3] *there are the red stalks of reeds; here are wild deer, yak oxen, and buffaloes, and here and there troops of tigers and lions.*

Here are divers creeping plants with scarlet shoots clinging to young trees, (203) *like women asleep, tired after a walk in their pleasaunce.*

Here are the budded tops of the red amaranth clearly burgeoning into flowers, like the slumbrous eyes of women waking from their sleep.

Here, stirred by a gentle breeze, the branches of various bright flowering trees caress one another like women in play.

Here, the swaying[4] *forest branches in bloom bend under*

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[1] *Vīrās,* voc. pl., referring to the audience. Cf. "listen," *sriṇotha,* above.

[2] Literally, "receiving," *°lābho.*

[3] The lacuna represents an inexplicable word in the text of the MSS., viz, *mriṣitā.* Senart here calls attention to the very conjectural nature of many of his restorations in this passage.

[4] *Kupyaka,* cf. Pali *kuppa,* ger. of *kuppati,* Sk. *kupyate.* But Senart, unsuccessfully, seeks the name of a tree in this word.

the weight of their burden, like calf-bearing cows with the weight of their bellies.[1]

Here are flowering kimśuka[2] *trees, in a row in the forest, like desirable large-eyed women, with upper garments of saffron, in their teacher's house.*

Here is a flowery spot covered with freshly-blown flowers, like a newly wedded bride lying at her ease, decked out in clusters of jewels.

Here are creepers with prickly thorns, bearing the marks of the hoofs of deer, buffalo and boar, and soaked by the blood of beasts slain by the mountaineer's arrow.

Here a herd of elephants[3] *on the ground,*[4] *with housings of white cloth; there boars, though able to ward off men, fall down*[5] *slain by tigers and lions.*

Here is the chatter of Rākṣasas, and the fearful cries of Piśācas and Kumbhāṇḍas; there by night the talk of Guhyakas[6] *is borne on the breeze.*

Here by night the clouds rumble and the beasts of prey rejoice; (204) *there fear-inspiring things assume many a form.*

Here in this forest of trees does he abide who yearns for the welfare of the whole world and who rejoices in the great respect he exacts from wild beasts and from Rākṣasas.

A marvel was it, then, that the lord of animals, the choicest of beings, should seek the welfare of all creation equally with his own.

[For he said], " Even though I have to endure the ills of all men for a measureless kalpa, *while seeking the release of them one by one, I shall lead across all beings. On this I am resolved."*

Then, when the choice being had lived a life of austerity in the forest for six years to secure the fading away of his karma, he came to recognise that the way he was on was not the way of release.

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[1] But there is a lacuna in the text, and the interpretation must remain doubtful.

[2] "A tree bearing beautiful red flowers, Butea frondosa."

[3] *Gajakarankanikaro*, unless it is to be taken more literally " a multitude of elephant skulls."

[4] *Kṣitim gale* of the text do not seem to make sense, and should probably be emended into *kṣititale*, " on the surface of the earth."

[5] *Viṣādi*, sing. verb with pl. subject.

[6] See Vol. 1, p. 84, *n.* 2.

He gets the thought, "The way to enlightenment will prove to be the one I perceived of yore when, in the rose-apple garden of the Śākyan king, I practised the first meditation.[1]

"But, weak and frail as I am, with my blood dried up and my flesh shrivelled, I cannot win through to enlightenment. So let me now once more take some nourishment."

The forest goddess said to him, "Do not eat, lest thy glory fade. We will restore strength to your limbs."

Then he thought, "Everywhere am I known as one who has fasted continually. If I have my strength restored by these goddesses, then it will all be a deceit."

Dismayed by these cozening words, he said, "No more of that" and rebuffed the goddesses. Then he partook of vetch, beans, peas and soup of molasses.

(205) *Gradually he built up his body's strength and vigour, and seeking food as he went, he made a good journey to Uruvilvā.*

Then she who had in previous births been his mother, Sujātā by name, who was accomplished and well brought up, stood at the foot of a banyan-tree,[2] *bearing some sweet milk-rice.*

"O holy man," saids he, "why is thy body so lean and worn out?" And she offered the milk-rice to the king's son, commending it.[3]

The royal seer[4] *thought, "This sweet milk-rice is well made,"*[5] *and the king's son said to her, "With what object do you give me this gift?"*[6]

She who had been the mother of this pure being in a hundred births sweetly replied to him, "It is my wish. Let me have it so.

"On the lower slopes of the Himalayas there is a city called Kapilavastu, which is renowned far and wide.

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[1] See above p. 44.

[2] See above p. 126, *n.* 7. The *Mhvu.* story of Sujātā is obviously made up from several varying traditions.

[3] There is no main verb following *sā*, "she," but only the two participles *dadatvā* and *parikīrtaya*. The latter is anomalous in form, for by Sanskrit rules we should expect *parikīrtya*.

[4] *I.e.* Gotama.

[5] *Sujāta*, a play, as Senart suggests, on the name Sujātā.

[6] As has been seen (above p. 126 *n.* 7) the drink was originally intended for the god of the banyan trees in fulfilment of a vow.

"A prince of that city, the son of the Śākyan Śuddhodana has left his people, renounced his kingdom, and gone into the forest.

"For six years he has been a wanderer in the wild and fearful forest of penance. By this gift to him my vow is fulfilled.[1]

"May my purpose prosper through the life of austerity which the excellent man seeks. May I, too, go along that way with the most excellent Great Man."

Thereupon a celestial voice came out of the sky saying, "O Sujātā, this is he, the wise man sprung from the Śākyan royal house.

(206) *"Terrible austerities of various kinds, and hard to accomplish, which dried up his blood and his flesh, did he go through in the forest of penance.*

"But now he has abjured those useless practices, and is marching on towards that fair tree where former perfect Buddhas attained the incomparable enlightenment."

Then Sujātā wept for joy, and trembling raised her joined hands to the Valiant Man and said to him,

"I have seen, O lotus-eyed one, that thou hast arisen from thy grim austerities in the terrible forest, and seeing this, my heart which had been stricken with grief feels joy again.

"It is six years since the beds I have slept in have brought me ease, for I was tormented by the arrow of grief as I thought of thy austerities.

"But now the whole kingdom, thy people, thy father, thy loved ones and thy aunt will be glad and joyful when they hear that thy penance is over.

"In the city of Kapila the houses will resound to the music of a hundred instruments, with throngs of men and women laughing, beside themselves with joy.

"Partake of this sweet milk-rice and become the destroyer of the conduit that formerly irrigated existence,[2] *and attain immortality, the griefless state, in a grove in the king's domain."*[3]

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[1] As Senart remarks, this is obviously an interpolation from another version of the story.

[2] *Purimabhavanetri.* With *bhavaneṭri*, cf. Pali *bhavanetti.*

[3] ? *Drumarājapṛithivīṣaṇḍe,* the compound seems somewhat irregular, but the allusion is clearly to the *bodhi* tree, which did not grow in the wilds, but in civilised territory.

The Light of men[1] *declared to her, "For five hundred births you were my mother. In some future time you will be a Pratyekabuddha,*[2] *vowed to a Conqueror's life."*

Here ends the prediction made to Sujātā in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

(207) Then the Bodhisattva, having finished his alms round, left the village of Senāpati[3] in Uruvilvā, with his bowl full of cakes of various kinds. But Kāśyapa Pūraṇa left with his bowl containing only leavings of food.[4] The Bodhisattva asked him, "Venerable Kāśyapa, have you received any alms?" And Kāśyapa replied to the Bodhisattva in a verse :—

Praskandaka, Balākalpa, Ujjangala and Jangala,[5] *in these wicked villages I received not a single piece of alms.*

The Bodhisattva replied to Kāśyapa Pūraṇa in verse :—

Praskandaka, Balākalpa, Ujjangala and Jangala, by these kind villages, see, my bowl is loaded.

When the Bodhisattva, against the wishes of his sobbing and weeping parents left home, King Śuddhodana sent out men with instructions to bring him constantly daily tidings of the prince. Therefore news of him came to the king, when the prince went to Anomiya to the retreat of the seer Vasiṣṭha ; when he left the retreat of the seer Vasiṣṭha and went to Veśālī ; when he joined Ārāḍa Kālāma at Veśālī ; when he left Veśālī and went to Rājagṛiha ; when he joined Udaka Rāmaputra at Rājagṛiha ; when he was offered bounteous wealth by Śreṇiya Bimbisāra ; when he left Rājagṛiha and went to Mount Gayāśīrṣa ; when he left Mount Gayāśīrṣa and went to the wood on the Uruvilvā bank of the Nairāñjanā ; (208) when he was practising his harsh austerities in the wood at Uruvilvā ; and when he strove his striving[6]—on all these occasions news came to him.[7]

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[1] *Narapradīpa.* Cf. *lokapradīpa*, etc., Vol. 1, p. 37, *n.* 1.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 40, *n.* 3. Here the synonym *pratyekajina* is used.
[3] *I.e.* the village overseer referred to above as the father of Sujātā. See p. 126, *n.* 7.
[4] *Atiriktakena pātreṇa.* Cf. Pali *anatiritta*, of food which is not the leavings of a meal, *i.e.* fresh food.
[5] Four villages belonging to Uruvilvā, mentioned only here.
[6] *Prahāṇa* for *pradhāna. Cf.* above p. 120, *n.* 2.
[7] This is a summing up made in translation ; in the text the statement "news came to him" is repeated after each clause.

When the Bodhisattva was practising the "breath-holding meditation[1]" and to his great discomfort[2] had stopped inhaling and exhaling through his nostrils and through the inner passages of both ears, those men said among themselves, "The prince is dead, for he neither exhales[3] nor inhales." And they came to Kapilavastu and told King Śuddhodana. "Your majesty," said they, "the prince is dead." But the king did not believe it,[4] and he asked the men, "How do you know that the prince is dead?" They replied, "Your majesty, the prince is dead as a result of his severe austerities and meagre[5] diet. He no longer inhales and exhales, but lies like a log of wood. So we thought that, as the prince neither inhaled nor exhaled and his body was lean and frail, he was dead."

Then King Śuddhodana said to himself, "Such honour was paid to the prince by thousands of devas when he came down[6] to his mother's womb, and when he moved[7] in the womb; in such a wonderful manner was he born in the Lumbinī grove, and as soon as he was born he took seven strides over the ground, surveyed the quarters of the world, laughed a loud laugh and uttered the words, "I am foremost in the world, the best, the most excellent, to be worshipped of devas and men"; such strange marvels were seen at his birth, for this inanimate earth quaked and thousands of devas worshipped him; and such good fortune attended his leaving home, that a Great Man like this cannot be short-lived. It can be that the prince will prove to be immersed in calm concentration, just as he was on a former occasion before he had gone forth as a recluse, when he sat cross-legged in the cool shade of the rose-apple tree. It is because of this that the men conclude that the prince is dead." Then he said to the men, "Go to the prince. He is not dead, but is immersed in calm concentration. (209) And bring me tidings of the prince daily."

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[1] *Āsphānaka dhyāna*, see above p. 120, *n*. 4.
[2] *Lūkhatāya*. See *lūha* above p. 63, *n*. 1.
[3] *Uśvasati*, according to Senart, a false Sk. form due to the mistaken notion that the regular *ucchvasati* was Prakrit.
[4] *Pattīyati*. See above p. 106, *n*. 2.
[5] *Lūha*. See above p. 63, *n*. 1.
[6] Reading *avakrāntasya* for *avakrānti*.
[7] *Garbhacankramasya*. Senart compares *Lal. Vist*. p. 76 *f*. for this reference to the adoration of the Bodhisattva by devas when he moved about in his mother's womb.

So they went again to Uruvilvā, entered the forest of penance and saw the prince in good health, breathing again and come out of his concentration. And they marvelled at the understanding of King Śuddhodana.

The monks heard of this incident when the Exalted One had set rolling the noble wheel of dharma, and they asked him, " How was it, Lord, that, when King Śuddhodana heard from these men in reply to his question that the prince was dead, he would not believe ? " The Exalted One replied, " Indeed, monks, that was not the first time that King Śuddhodana hearing that I was dead[1] did not believe. There was another occasion also when, hearing that I was dead, he did not believe." The monks asked, ".Was there another occasion, Lord ? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks, there was another occasion."

THE ŚYĀMAKA JATAKA

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśi, there was a certain brāhman. For forty-eight years[2] he had lived a chaste life of celibacy and had learnt the Vedas by heart. And when he had thus lived a chaste life of celibacy for forty-eight years and learnt the Vedas by heart, he said, " It is not right for one to be without offspring in this world."[3] So he took a wife and begat a child. Then he said to himself, " I have enjoyed the sensual pleasures of men.[4] Now it is time for me to take up the life of a recluse." The brāhman acquainted his wife with this, saying, " Good

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[1] Literally, " hearing of me, that I was dead " *mamāntareṇa kālagato ti śrutvā*. *Mamāntareṇa* would normally mean " after me," a meaning inadmissible here. Senart refers to an earlier instance where *antara* denotes " obstacle," and argues that this meaning and that of " after " combine to give the sense of " interposition." *Mamāntareṇa* therefore, he says, means " dans ma disparition." But there seems to be no room for this idea alongside of *kālagato*, and it would be simpler to take *antareṇa* as a variant of *antaram* in the sense of " on account of," " with regard to." Below, the expression is replaced by *mama kāraṇena* and *mam arthāya*.

[2] A traditionally prescribed period of training, see *Āpastamba* 2, 12 *f.* (= *S.B.E.* ii, 7), and other references in a footnote at *G.S.*, 3. 164.

[3] Literally, " There is no dharma of (= for) one without offspring," *nāsti anapatyasya loke dharmo*.

[4] *Paribhuktā mānuṣyakā kāmā*. Cf. *J*. 1. 138, *bhuttā kho pana me mānusakā kāmā*.

wife, I tell you that I intend taking to the religious life." She replied, "Who will take care[1] of our brāhman son? Who will take care of me? If you are bent on taking up the religious life, I, too, will take up the religious life. I, too, will live a life of austerity. I, too, will live a life of chastity. Just as you will live a life of austerity, so will I do also." The brāhman replied, (210) "So be it. Do you, too, take up the religious life." And so they left Benares.

In the Himalayas there was a retreat called Sāhañjanī.[2] There a great seer named Gautama dwelt, with a company of five hundred. He had mastered the four meditations and attained the five super-knowledges.

Now the brāhman accompanied by the brāhmaṇī went to the retreat Sāhañjanī and lived the religious life with the seer Gautama. And the brāhmaṇī also took up the religious life. Then not far from that retreat he constructed another retreat and built a hut of straw and leaves. The recluse Pāragā[3] also built a hut of straw apart. And so they lived in that retreat, after the manner of brāhman recluses,[4] in endeavour, application and exertion. They experienced the meditations and super-knowledges; mastered the four meditations and attained the five super-knowledges. They became blessed, given to severe mortifications and living a holy life. When the seer brought in any kind of roots or fruits, such as *kodrava*,[5] *śyāmaka*,[6] millet,[7] hemp,[8] *prāsādika*,[9] green vegetables, or radish, he shared them with Pāragā, who had already become pregnant. (When the child was born) they asked each other "What name shall we give to this child?" And they said "This child is swarthy of complexion, so let his name be Śyāmaka." Then the parents gave the name Śyāmaka to the child.

The child was brought up there in the retreat. In due time

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[1] *Viveṣyati*, an irregular form from *viṣ*, with the reduplication of the present stem maintained in the future.

[2] *BR*. gives this as the name of a city founded by a prince, Sāhañjana.

[3] Name of the brāhmaṇī or brāhman's wife. See below.

[4] *Vāhirakena mārgeṇa*, see p. 27, *n*. 6.

[5] "A species of grain eaten by the poor, Paspalum Scrobiculatum."

[6] "A kind of edible grain, Panicum Frumentaceum or Colonum."

[7] *Priyangu*, Panicum Italicum.

[8] *Bhanga*.

[9] *Prāsādika*, no plant of this name is known. The reading is probably corrupt, and Senart queries whether the right reading should not be *prasāraṇikā*, which, presumably, is to be equated with *prasāraṇa*, *prasāraṇī*, the name of a creeper, Paederia foetida Lin. But cf. *prasātika* p. 60 (text).

as the child grew up and was able to walk he played about with the young animals. Blessed seers are kindly disposed and wild beasts and birds stand in no fear of them. And that hermitage was graced by thousands of wild beasts and birds. When the young of the wild animals sucked their mothers' teats, then did Śyāmaka likewise suck a wild animal's teat. Whatever animal he associated with, that animal would suckle him like her own offspring.

(**211**) Thus Śyāmaka, the seer's child, grew up in that retreat along with the young beasts and birds. Wherever the young beasts and birds went, thither did Śyāmaka, the seer's son, go with them. And the young beasts and birds loved to play with the seer's son. When the seer's son was lying in the hut, then many young beasts and birds of various kinds came to lie down at the door of the hut until Śyāmaka, the seer's son, should come out. Then they would run about the hermitage. Śyāmaka loved to play with the beasts and birds in the hermitage and the beasts and birds loved to play with Śyāmaka. And when the seer's son was lying down anywhere in the hermitage the young of the beasts, the beasts themselves, and the birds would sit down to watch over him. When the young beasts and the birds wanted to run off they would arouse Śyāmaka, the seer's son, with their snouts and beaks. And so the seer's son grew up in the hermitage with the young beasts and birds.

When the seer's son had grown up he was clothed and covered with the skins of wild animals. Whatever kinds of roots or fruits there were in the hermitage, *kodrava, śyāmaka, cinnaka,*[1] millet, hemp, *prāsādika*, vegetables and radish, he fetched and brought them to his parents. He brought them water and wood and constructed huts of grass and leaves. He scoured and swept the hermitage. He attended to[2] his parents with the greatest respect. He would first serve his mother and father and only then would he himself eat. From the time that[3] the seer's son reached years of discretion[4] he never took (**212**)

[1] Senart cites *BR.* for *cinna*, denoting a kind of grain.
[2] *Upasthihati*, a hybrid form, cf. Pali *upaṭṭahati* and BSk. *upasthita*.
[3] *Yata upādāya . . . tata: upādāya.*
[4] *Vijñaprāpta*, "attained wisdom," possibly denoting the same age as is denoted by Pali *vayappatta*, "come of (marriageable) age" (*i.e.* sixteen). See, *e.g.*, *J.* 3. 39, 194, 270.

food himself before giving some to his parents. Time passed agreeably, desirably, pleasantly, happily, with the seer's son waiting on his parents.

Now as they went on living in that hermitage the parents grew old, frail of body, blind, and had to be led by others. They were unable to make provision of food, nor go for water, nor enter their huts of leaves and grass. But Śyāmaka the seer's son went on tending his parents when they were advanced in years, old, weak and blind, with every useful service. He lived following the path of the ten virtues.[1] The seer's son was gracious, pleasing of aspect, serene because of his good karma,[2] thoughtful of his parents, living the chaste life of celibacy, observing strict austerity, content with a solitary[3] bed and chair, blessed and dear to devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas, Kumbhāṇḍas, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs, wild beasts and birds, dear, in fact, to all creatures. Wherever the seer's son went to gather roots or leaves or flowers or fruits, he was always accompanied by beasts and birds, devas and Nāgas, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs.

One day he took his pitcher and, attended by beasts and birds, devas and Nāgas, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs, went to a mountain stream to fetch water. There he filled his pitcher.

Now the king of Kāśi, named Peliyakṣa,[4] who was powerful, possessing great wealth and many beasts of burdens, was out hunting and chasing a deer on a horse swift as the wind. He outstripped his army and no one else had reached that spot. As the Exalted One says in the *Dharmapada*,[5]

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 3, *n*. 4.

[2] *Śubhena karmaṇā abhinirvṛitta.*

[3] *Prānta*, BSk. in meaning of Pali.

[4] Pali *Piliyakkha*. See *D.P.N.* According to some this is a form of the name Felix.

[5] This verse is not found in the Pali *Dhammapada*, but there were especial versions of this work in BSk. *Mhvu*. 1. 132 and 3. 91 quotes *Dharmapada* verses identical with those in the Pali Canon. At 3. 156 we have another quotation, which is not in the Pali, while on pp. 434 *ff*., of the same vol. a whole *varga* (*Sahasravarga*) of the *Dharmapada* is quoted containing 24 verses as against the 16 of the Pali *Sahassa-vagga*. The kernel of both the Pali and the BSk. versions must have consisted of the same collection of verses, but the latter were subsequently much enlarged, and they circulated widely in Central Asia, Tibet and China. See Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 237.

The way of the wild beasts is the wood, the air that of the birds.[1] *Dharma is the way of the Vibhāgīyas,*[2] *and Nirvana that of the arhans.*

(213) The deer was lost there in the forest glade. There in the forest glade the king heard the noise of Śyāma the seer as he was carrying his pitcher of water from the mountain stream. And he reflected, "That is the noise made by the deer. No men move about in this forest." So he shot an arrow in the direction of the noise made by the seer Śyāma as he was carrying the pitcher of water. And the arrow pierced the heart of the young seer and poisoned him. The beasts and birds hearing the whirr of the poisoned arrow and scenting him who was shooting by sound,[3] fled in all directions.

Śyāma the seer put down his pitcher on the river bank and cried piteously. "Deer and boars," he said, "are slain for their flesh; lions, tigers and leopards for their skins; yaks for their bushy tails; elephants for their tusks; and partridges and pheasants are killed to provide delicacies. But as for me, no use can be made of my flesh, nor of my skin, hair and teeth. For what purpose then are we three,[4] inoffensive, innocent and guiltless as we are, thus killed by one arrow? Ah, what blazing injustice!'[5]

While the young seer Śyāma thus lamented, the king of Kāśi came to the spot and saw the blessed young seer, in his garb of hide and bark and with his hair matted, as he wailed and wept. When the king saw that he had shot the young seer, he was frightened and terrified lest the seer, with an imprecation, should reduce him, his city and his province to ashes. He therefore dismounted from his horse and, prostrating himself before the young seer, said to him, "Lord, it was in

[1] Cf. *A.* 2. 33, *bilaṃ bilāsayā pavisanti, dakaṃ dakāsayā pavisanti, vanaṃ vanāsayā pavisanti, ākāsaṃ pakkhino bhajanti.*

[2] The allusion here is obscure. No sect of this name is known. Senart suggests that there is a connection between the name and that of the *Vibhangas*, or treatises on the Pāṭimokkha rules of the *Vinaya*, *i.e.* that the Vibhāgīyas were especially devoted to or versed in these rules. But Miss I. B. Horner's suggestion (communicated to the translator) looks more feasible, namely that the Vibhāgīyas were connected with the Vibhajjavādins. She refers to *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 95, *vibhajjavādinā munindena desitattā. vibhajjavādo ti ' ca vuccati.*

[3] *Śabdavedhigandhena.*

[4] Implying that by his death his parents, too, would perish.

[5] Literally "How injustice blazes," *yathā samprajvalita adharmo.*

ignorance that I shot that arrow, for I thought that I was shooting at a deer. I crave your reverence's pardon. Those tear-drops that fall to the ground will burn the whole of Jambuidvīpa, (214) how much more foolish men like me?[1] But why your reverence says that by one arrow three persons were killed, that I do not understand. Your reverence is but one person, not three. How is it that three persons are killed by this one arrow?"

The young seer replied, "Your majesty, my parents are old, advanced in years, frail of body and blind, though they are holy and blessed, worthy of offerings[2] in this world and in the world of devas. But they are dependent on others and I was their attendant. I always gave them their share of food first, and then I ate myself. I did everything that had to do with the care of them.[3] And now there is none at all to look after them. Therefore, when I perish, they, too, perish. With me dead, there is no life for them. It is for this reason that I say that by that one arrow three people were killed."

The king of Kāśi said to the illustrious young seer Śyāma, "Quite unwittingly I shot you in the heart with a sharp poisoned arrow, and now I know that you have no chance of life. But let that pass. I make you a promise and will faithfully keep it. I will leave my prosperous and rich kingdom, and go and look after your venerable parents. As you did care for them, so will I care for them."

The young seer replied, "Your majesty, because of that the sting of grief has been withdrawn from my heart. As you have made this promise, treat my venerable parents in accordance with your vow. O mighty ruler, great merit will then be yours. Your majesty, as you have undertaken to serve and tend these blessed ones, take this pitcher of water and go along this footpath to my parents' retreat. Greet them for me, and say to them, 'The illustrious Śyāma greets you. Your only son is dead, but you must not grieve nor weep for him. He who is born into this world of life must inevitably die; it is impossible

[1] *Kimanga puna: asmadvidhānāṃ bālānām.* The genitive is not easily explained here. The accusative would be expected in correlation with *Jambudvīpam*, as in the corresponding verse passage on p. 223 of text.

[2] *Dakṣiṇīya.* See Vol. 1, p. 61, *n.* 3.

[3] Literally, "everything bounded by the care of them," *upasthāna-paryantaṃ sarvam.*

to abide in it permanently. Neither weeping nor mourning for him can ensure (215) his escape from the results of the deeds he has himself committed.[1] Death is not peculiar to me alone; it is the lot of every creature. Therefore, grieve not nor mourn for me. There must needs come parting and separation from all dear and loved ones.' Your majesty, as you have vowed to do by my venerable parents, so do."

Having thus instructed him, the young seer succumbed and died. When the king saw that the young seer was dead, he cried and wailed. Then, drying his tears, he took the pitcher of water and went to the hermitage along the footpath pointed out to him by the illustrious Śyāmaka.

As soon as the king of Kāśi left, the illustrious Śyāmaka was surrounded by hundreds and thousands of beasts and birds, by devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Kinnarīs, and other creatures. And when they had gathered round the young seer, they made a great lamentation and raised a great shout. "Now," said they, "let the evil-doer who brought harm to you who were innocent, blameless and harmless, go from darkness to darkness, from ways of woe to ways of woe." The whole forest, all the mountain streams, and the hermitage re-echoed to the shout of these creatures and were filled with the cries of the beasts and birds.

When the parents of the illustrious Śyāmaka heard these creatures and the beasts and birds they fell to thinking. "What," said they, "is happening to-day? Never before have we heard such shouts from these creatures, nor such cries from the beasts and birds. May it not be that the illustrious Śyāmaka has been hurt by a lion, or a tiger, or by some other beast of prey? What are these omens? How our hearts are disquieted! How our eyes well with tears!" And ill at ease in body and mind, they thought about the illustrious Śyāmaka.

The king of Kāśi reached the hermitage, whence hundreds of beasts and birds, (216) raising cries of terror, fled. The seers were still more terrified. The king made his horse fast to the branch of a tree and, carrying the pitcher of water, approached the parents of the illustrious Śyāmaka. "I greet you, sir," said he. With joy they asked him, "Who are you?" The

[1] Cf. *M.* 3. 180, *tayā v' etaṃ pāpaṃ kammaṃkatam, tvaññeva etaṃ vipākaṃ paṭisaṃvedissasi.* Similarly *A.* 1. 139.

king replied, " Sir, I am the king of Kāśi, named Peliyakṣa. I doubt, sir, whether there is much comfort[1] here in this grove of penance which is haunted by beasts of prey and unfrequented by men. Does it produce roots and fruits ? Are *kodrava*, *śyāmaka* and vegetables easily[2] procured ? Does the body know no sickness ? Has the body no contacts with gnats, mosquitoes, and snakes ? " They replied, " Your majesty, of a truth we dwell in comfort here in the forest, though it is haunted by beasts of prey and is unfrequented by men. In this retreat, roots and leaves and fruits are obtained without difficulty. The body knows no sickness and has no contacts with gnats, mosquitoes and snakes. Can it be,[3] now, that your citizens and provincials enjoy happy and inviolate peace in your palace, among your princes and ministers, in your army, in your treasure house and granaries ? Do not hostile kings molest you ? Does the deva send rain in due season ? Do your crops prosper ? Is your kingdom peaceful, well-supplied with food, and secure ? " The king replied, " Of a truth, sir, my people enjoy happy and inviolate peace in the palace, among my princes and ministers, in my army, in my treasure-house and granaries. Hostile kings do not molest me. The deva sends rain in due season and the crops prosper. My kingdom is peaceful, well-supplied with food, and secure."

Then they said, " Your majesty, pray be seated on these chairs until the illustrious Śyāmaka, who has gone to fetch water, returns. He will bring you fruit and water."

When the seers had thus spoken, the king burst into tears. They asked him, " Why does your majesty weep ? " The king replied, " Sir, the illustrious Śyāmaka who, you say, will come and offer me fruit and water, (**217**) is dead. He handed me this pitcher of water and sent you his greetings and a message, saying, ' You must not grieve nor weep for me. Nothing is gained by him who is grieved and wept for. Everyone who is born must inevitably die. Death is not peculiar to me alone ; it is the lot of every creature to die and pass away. And there

[1] Literally, " Can there be comfort ? " *Kaccid . . . sukham*. *Kaccid*, as in Pali, is taken in the sense of Latin *num* or *nonne*, and is understood as introducing all the immediately following clauses. Otherwise, these become statements of fact, identical with those in the seer's reply.

[2] Literally, " with little difficulty," *alpakisareṇa*. *Kisara* = Pali *kasira*, probably to be referred to Vedic *kṛicchra*. (See P.E.D.)

[3] *Kaccid*.

is no escape from the results of the deeds a man has himself committed.' "

Then they asked, " Your majesty, how did the illustrious Śyāmaka come by his death ? " The king replied, " I was out hunting, and chasing a deer on a horse swift as the wind. I came to a place close to the water where the illustrious Śyāmaka was filling his pitcher. And there, in a thicket of the forest, I lost the deer. I heard the sound of the illustrious Śyāmaka carrying his pitcher, and I said to myself, ' There is the deer moving in the water.' Hearing the noise of its movement, I shot a poisoned arrow in the direction of the noise. The arrow struck the heart of the illustrious Śyāmaka, and the young seer died."

When they heard the king they cried,[1] sobbed and wailed with tear-stained faces. " Your majesty," said they, " deer and boars are slain for their flesh ; lions, tigers and leopards for their skins ; elephants for their tusks, and partridges and pheasants to provide delicacies. But as for us, neither our flesh, nor our skins, nor our hair, nor our teeth are of any use. So why are we three[2] harmless, innocent and inoffensive people killed thus by one arrow ? "

The king of Kāśi fell at the feet of the seers and craved forgiveness. " Sir," said he, " these tears of yours that fall to the ground will burn the whole of Jambudvīpa, how much more foolish men like me ?[3] I will abandon my kingdom, my people and my kinsfolk (218) and come to serve you. Just as the illustrious Śyāmaka waited on you, so will I wait on you."

Then they said, " We are blind and have lost our sight. We cannot go to that place without a guide. Let your majesty lead us to the place where the illustrious Śyāmaka lies. By means of an incantation we will restore the young seer to life, and by means of an incantation we will destroy the poison that was intended for the deer."[4]

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[1] *Prarundā*, BSk. past participle of *pra-rud*. Below, pp. 218 and 224 we have *runda* from the simple verb, and at 3. 116 the form *ruṇṇa*. Pali has the corresponding forms *ruṇṇa* and *roṇṇa*.

[2] See p. 203.

[3] See p. 204, *n*. 1.

[4] *Mṛigavişa*. Or, perhaps, we should render by " huntsman's poison " or " poison used in hunting." Anyhow, this is the term used for the poison throughout the rest of this passage, but after this first occurrence it is rendered " poison " simply.

The king reflected, " How blessed these seers must be, that they have the power to restore him to life." Then he said, " I will lead you sir, to where the illustrious Śyāmaka is."

They put their hands on the king's shoulder and thus went to the place. Pāragā, the mother of the illustrious Śyāmaka, clasped the seer's head to her bosom, wiped his mouth with her hand, and vented her grief in varied cries and lamentation. " Bereft of the illustrious Śyāmaka," said she, " the hermitage will be desolate, the goddess of the wood will go away wailing piteously, and so will the beasts and birds, when they fail to see the illustrious Śyāmaka, wail piteously and leave the hermitage."

The seer said, " Pāragā, do not weep, nor grieve. What does it avail him that he is wept[1] and grieved for ? Now we have observed stern austerity and have lived a life of chastity. We have the power to restore him with an incantation. Let us pronounce that incantation, destroy the poison and restore him to life." So they destroyed the poison by means of an incantation, saying, " Son, as you did never harbour unjust thoughts of others, but were kind-hearted to all creatures, so let this poison which is in you be destroyed. Son, as you never took food yourself before giving some to your parents, so let this poison which is in you be destroyed. Son, as you always guarded your parents virtuously and sincerely, (219) so let this poison which is in you be destroyed." Then the young seer, through the power of his parents and the influence of the incantation and in virtue of his own well-spent life, stood up yawning, like a man rising from his bed.

The Exalted One said, " It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the young seer Śyāmaka was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the young seer named Śyāmaka. You may think, too, that the seer who was the father of Śyāmaka, was somebody else. King Śuddhodana here was at that time and on that occasion the father of Śyāmaka. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the mother of Śyāmaka, who was named Pāragā, was somebody else. But she was Queen Māyā here.

[1] *Ruṇḍa*. See p. 207, *n*. 1.

You may think that the king of Kāśi, named Peliyakṣa, was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? The elder Ānanda here at that time and on that occasion was the king of Kāśi named Peliyakṣa. Then, too, monks, did King Śuddhodana, on hearing of me that I was dead, refuse to believe, but said, 'O king, the illustrious Śyāmaka is not dead, but has merely been made insensible by the poison.[1] Do you but lead us to the place, and we will with an incantation destroy the poison and restore the illustrious Śyāmaka to life.' And now, also, has king Śuddhodana, on hearing of me that I was dead, refused to believe."

Here ends the preliminary version of the Jātaka of Śyāmaka.

I shall tell[2] *of a former life of the virtuous Exalted One, transcendental,*[3] *yet of infinite glory in the world, the saviour of the world.*

It is not possible for anyone to surpass the whole life of the Bodhisattva in the world of men, of devas and of Gandharvas. (220) *For the Daśabala is invincible.*

As far as memory can recall the Tathāgatas as they lived their various lives bestowing compassion on the world with love and pity,

I shall set forth the good life of the Exalted One as he went on accumulating merit during a hundred-thousand kalpas. *Give respectful attention.*

At that time the Exalted One, endowed with wisdom, came to life in a perfectly pure ascetic family of brāhman recluses.

His parents were old and blind, and it was for their sakes that the Transcendental One came to birth.

Of wholly faultless body was he, possessing magic power, gentle, and having large eyes. Now his name at that time was Śyāma.

Whatever man or deva beheld the wondrous young seer could not have his fill of contemplating his perfect beauty and virtue.

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[1] These words are not in the story itself, as given above.

[2] A metrical version of the same Jātaka, which, apart from the introductory matter, is obviously a ballad of pre-Buddhistic origin.

[3] *Lokottara* see Vol. 1 pp. xi, 3, 45, 76, 125, *n.* 3, 132, 174, *n.* 1.

The merit which a Bodhisattva pursues and attains, that was the pure meritorious dharma in conformity with which he lived.

He himself lived the faultless, stainless and pure holy life, which is hard of achievement by the lazy,[1] *and also urged others to strive after it.*

He was a hero who tended his parents and devoutly[2] *cared for them. He lived a life of holiness, observing his vow of chastity.*

(221) *And this was a resolve he made for the sake of his dear and beloved parents, saying, "Verily, I must not be remiss,*[3] *for they are blind and have to be led by others.*

"Gathering roots and fruits I shall, with love, respect and honour tend my venerable parents, who are ill, old, and advanced in years.

"I will provide my parents with food and drink, with medicine for their sickness, with clothes and with beds to sleep on."

And to his parents then the Bodhisattva said, "Let it not be so;[4] *you must not be anxious as long as I am here to attend to you."*

Then Kṛiṣṇa,[5] *clothed in bark, said to him, "Let not this sin be yours. Let not creatures be terrified*[6] *at you*[7] *as you wander away from the path.*

"Let the king of beasts and the mighty elephant stray in quest of gory flesh, but do not let creatures be terrified of you."

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[1] *Kuśīda* for *kusīda*, Pali *kusīta*.

[2] Or "zealously," *tīvram*, a use of the word which Senart found in the edicts of Piyadasi. Cf. use of *tibbam* in Pali.

[3] Or "must not delay," *prapañcitavya*, cf. Pali *papañceti*.

[4] *Mā khu bhave*, which would seem to suggest that an incident of the original poem has been omitted here.

[5] Literally, "the dark and fair one," *syāma-sundari*. Here, again, there seems to be an omission of some incident in the original, possibly the arrival of Kṛiṣṇa on the scene when Śyāmaka was on the point of going hunting. If *syāma-sundari* does not allude to Kṛiṣna, it must be taken as meaning "the fair Śyāma(ka)." But then there would be no means of identifying the person represented by *taṃ* the object of the verb *avaca*. Kṛiṣṇa appears in the Pali texts, though only faintly in the figure of Vāsudeva who is styled *kaṇha* (= *kṛiṣṇa*) and *kesava*, as in *Jātaka* No. 454. (*J*. 4. 84. Cf. *J*. 6. 421.) But not every Kaṇha in the Pali texts is necessarily connected with the legend of Kṛiṣṇa, not even the Kaṇha of the Ambaṭṭha-Sutta (*D*. 1. 87 ff.), in spite of what Winternitz, *op. cit.*, 2. p. 37, says. See also p. 119 *ibid.* and footnote 2 there.

[6] *Trāsentu*, causal for the radical form. But the reading is doubtful.

[7] *Tuhyam*, dative for genitive.

With the young animals he dwelt in the pleasant retreats. Like an animal the young seer dwelt with the animals in the forest.

And while he thus dwelt in that retreat, in calm and self-control and renunciation, and out of kindliness and pity feeling compassion for the world,

There came on the scene the king of Kāśi, a mighty and powerful lord of men, who terrified the beasts and birds in the retreat.

Within the forest the king espied troops of deer, and when he had seen them, he hurriedly drew his bow and fixed[1] *an arrow.*

(222) *He chased the deer, borne on a horse swift as the wind, a horse wholly excellent, with its mane flying as it raced along.*

Just then the young seer, having come there with his pitcher to fetch water, had gone down to the stream which flowed from the hills, while the beasts and birds were affrighted.

And the king, in great fury pursuing the deer with his bow drawn, did not in his fury perceive the young seer.

He fixed[2] *a sharp arrow to his bow, aiming it at the deer, but hit Śyāma instead, and he, friendly though he was, fell stricken by the poison-smeared shaft.*

And when he was struck he cried out, "By whom am I, inoffensive as I am, and my mother and father, all three of us, thus struck by one arrow? Again does injustice blaze forth.

"Elephants are slain for their tusks and deer for their flesh; yaks for their bushy tails and leopards for their skins.

"But as for me, I have no tusks, nor hide, nor hair, nor flesh. Why then should we, inoffensive as we are, be shot?"

When he heard these words the king went up to the young seer and sought to appease him and craved his forgiveness, saying, "Lord, I shot you quite unwittingly.

"This arrow was not fixed[3] *and aimed at you. I was*

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[1] *Sandahe,* from *sandahati* BSk. and Pali for Sk. *sandadhāti*; used in this sense also at *J.* 4. 236, 258.

[2] *Sandahita,* past part. of *sandahati,* see preceding note.

[3] *Sandhita,* Sk. corresponding to *sandahita* (see above). Senart, however, prefers the meaning "intentional" here. But there does not seem to be any valid reason for thus varying the sense of the word in similar contexts. If "aimed against you" is not justifiably supplied, perhaps the sense can be secured by emending *tvam* of the following *tvamāhato asi* into *tuhyam,* i.e. "the arrow was not fixed for you."

quite unaware that you were struck. So grant me pardon for thus unwittingly doing you harm.

"And as for your lamenting that three people were shot by this one arrow (223), *explain this to me, O holy man, tell me the meaning of it."*

Then the Bodhisattva, feeling pity[1] *for his dear and beloved parents, spoke these words in reply :—*

"Long have my old and aged mother and father lived the holy life. And I was their guide and stay in their blindness.

"Now a destitute death awaits them. That is why, O king, I grieve. Without my care, they will die a destitute death.

"It is for this reason that I say that three people were killed by that one arrow. Still if we are somehow taken under your care we shall not all be lost."[2]

The king of Kāśi, being keen-witted, was thus made aware of his meaning, and, making a low obeisance to the young seer, he said,

"I shall fall down to hell for that I have slain a harmless seer. For those who have slain such men cannot evade the hells.

"And your tear-drops, the tear-drops of a being of extreme purity, will burn the whole world. How much more foolish men like me?

"What I say is the truth. If by my death life could be yours, I would sacrifice my breath of life. But that is not possible.

"You, O seer, have been pierced in the heart by a sharp poisoned arrow. I know that your life is at end, and that pleases me not.

"So, O glorious one, I make you a promise, and do you believe[3] *me.* (224) *For truth, when it is established in this world of life, is the highest good.*[4]

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[1] Reading *karuṇam* for *kāraṇam* of the text.

[2] A lacuna in this line makes an exact translation conjectural. The text has *kiñci tvayi poṣiyanto na hato . . . bhaviṣyāmi.* Senart renders "moyennant que tu me réconfortes de certaine façon, la mort ne sera plus rien pour moi." But the translation given above is nearer to the text, though it requires the emendation of *poṣiyanto* into *poṣiyantā,* of *hato* into *hatā* and of *bhaviṣyāmi* into *bhaviṣyāma.* Two MSS. have the first two emended forms.

[3] *Pattīya,* see p. 106, *n.* 2.

[4] Reading *paramārtho* for *paramārthaṃ* of the text.

"I shall give up my rich kingdom and renounce my women and my pleasures, and go and gather roots and leaves and tend your venerable parents."

The Bodhisattva said to him, "O most excellent king, by saying those words you have removed the bitter burning arrow of my grief.

"So now take this pitcher of water, go to our hermitage along this footpath and speak to my parents in my name.

"Greet my mother and my father once more for me, and say to them, 'Your son is dead and has sent you this greeting.

"'And he says that you must in no wise grieve for him and that he who is wept[1] *and grieved for gains nothing thereby. Everyone born in the world of life must inevitably die.*

"'For this is the order of things.[2] *Man's life does not last long, and death is the end for rich and poor alike.*

"'Nor is it possible to evade the results of deeds committed by oneself. Both pleasure and pain alike befall him who moves in the cycle of rebirth.[3]

"'Have I not heard learned men speak of, and do I not know myself, the instability of the impermanent and feeble compounded elements which condition life?[4]

"'I am not afraid of[5] *death, and a thing like this is no ill for me. This salutary lesson have I learnt,*[6] *that death is no wise avoidable in the world.'*

"This was the grief that stung me, that my blind and aged parents should be destitute and suffer great sorrow. But this concern of mine is over now that I have heard you.

(225) *"Then do you, who bring prosperity to Kāśi, take heed that you have made a promise to Śyāma. By that promise you will see to the care of my venerable parents.*

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[1] *Ruṇḍa*, see *n.* 1, p. 207.

[2] *Ānupūrvā*, cf. Pali *ānupubba*, "rule, regularity, order." For the sentiment cf. *A.* 4. 136, *appakaṃ jīvitaṃ manussānam . . . n'atthi jātassa amaraṇam.*

[3] ? *cakraparivartaka*, "turning in the circle."

[4] Literally, "of what is gone to a *saṃskāra*," *saṃskāragatasya*. For the *saṃskāras* see Vol. 1, p. 99, *n.* 1. On their impermanency see *Dhp.* 277, *sabbe sankhārā aniccā*. Cf. also *D.* 2. 156 and *S.* 5. 163.

[5] Lacuna.

[6] Literally "This useful (profitable) thing have I experienced," *anubhūto eṣa artho*. For the sentiment cf. *A.* 3. 306; 4. 320.

"Wise men extol this serving of the old and weak as a thing of great profit. For, O king, three results issue from it.[1]

"Merit there will be, and glory and fame, and the root of virtue. Go, O king, ask their commands and serve them."

"So be it," said he, when he had heard this, disconsolately wiping his tears. And when he saw that Śyāma was dead, the king of Kāśi set out.

And as soon as the king of Kāśi had gone, many herds of beasts and flocks of birds, and devas gathered round Śyāma.

When they saw him lying insensible where he had fallen on the river-bank, they cried and said,

"Now may he who designed this wicked deed against you who were sinless, go from darkness into darkness, from ways of woe to ways of woe."

The cry of these creatures echoed in the air and over the earth, the winds blew it onwards. In apprehension, the seer[2] *exclaimed, "Alas, what is wrong?*

"I fear lest harm has come to the young seer, since I hear[3] *so many piteous cries like these and repeated sounds of wailing.*

"The winds bear evil tidings. There is a dire note in the cries of the birds. My heart leaps from its wonted place,[4] *and my whole body is ill at ease."*

(226) *While these anxious thoughts passed through his mind, he who was named Peliyaṣa*[5] *came to the hermitage. Then were the birds and beasts scared.*

Terrified they fled in all directions. The devas perceiving them seized with fear were still more terrified themselves when they saw the unexpected sight.

For no human or demon ever came anywhere to these regions. And the crowds of beasts and birds were never struck with fear when they saw the young seer.

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[1] Literally, "There are three limbs of it," *trīṇi pi tasyāsti aṅgāni.*

[2] *I.e.* Śyāma's father.

[3] Literally, "are seen," *driśyanti.*

[4] The reading here is doubtful. Senart's text is *hṛidayaṃ ca vyutthasthāno,* where *vyuttha* evidently represents a form of the past participle of *vi-ud-sthā,* perhaps showing the influence of a Prakrit form. Even so, and apart from the matter of agreement in form with *hṛidayam,* the regular form of the compound should be *sthānavyuttham.* The reading of MS. B, *vyutthaṃ sthā°* would seem to be better, especially if we can emend *sthāno* into *sthānā* (= *sthānād,* "from its place"). That this was the idea expressed by whatever was the original text is confirmed by the reading of another MS., *cyūtaṃ sthā°.*

[5] So here for Peliyakṣa.

Without a doubt, thought they, it must be a great, fearsome and terrible being at the sight of which the herds of beasts and flocks of birds are scared.

When the king had found them he went up to the mother and the father who were disquieted at the absence of their son, and, his murderer though he was, he addressed them with sweet words.

They replied, "Welcome to you, whence do you come? Or whose messenger are you? We are blind, bereft of sight, and Śyāma has gone to fetch water."

The king said, "I, who am named Peliyakṣa, had gone out of the city of Kāśi with my host to hunt, and was pursuing a deer in the chase."

"Most excellent king," said they, "does[1] *the deva send you rain in due season and make your crops to grow?"*[2] *He replied "My palace is free from sickness, and so are my princes and my troops.*

"In my cities and my provinces there is peace, and my subjects are loyal. My enemies do not thrive, and all my treasure goes on increasing.

"In my provinces just protection for recluses and brāhmans **(227)** *is fostered and never fails, and with reverence I bestow my gifts on them.*

"In this forest of yours, too, infested though it be by robbers, tigers and many a beast of prey, none, like creatures who have strayed from the right way, do you harm.

"Abundance of flowers and fruits and plenty of śyāmaka *and herbs can be easily*[3] *gathered. And the body knows but little sickness."*

"Our lad," replied they, "has not gone far, so pray sit down on this bed of leaves which belongs to him who is good and righteous and exceeding gracious of heart."

Then the king, weeping, spoke out the word that to that family of ascetics was as poison, calamitous and life-destroying.

"The holy, righteous and just young seer of whom you

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[1] *Kacci*, see p. 206, *n.* 1.

[2] Obviously there is abridgement here. Many more questions are answered than are asked. See also the prose version.

[3] *Alpakisareṇa.* See p. 206, *n.* 2.

speak has just now died. He sent you his greetings, saying, "That you were in no wise to grieve, for there is no profit in being wept[1] *and grieved for; everyone born in the world of life must inevitably die."*

When they heard this calamitous, distressing and unwelcome news, they said, "By speaking so you have, of a truth, put a stop to our lives."

He replied, "This affair was due to indiscretion.[2] *Since I committed this misdeed unwittingly, so, good people, forgive me.*

"Besides, I have come hither to bear the burden which the young seer (228) *bore, and I shall serve you, good people."*

The mother of him who had the rich complexion of the blue lotus wept, disregarding the words her dear son had already smilingly spoken.

"Ah, my dear and lovely Śyāma," she cried, "association with another, because I have lost you,[3] *will sooner*[4] *consume my heart as the fire burns dry grass and wood.*

"Now I know that this hermitage is empty, frightful, fearful and without joy, bereft as it is of him who was good and righteous, the noble seer.

"Since verily he was all our strength, our delight, and in him we had peace, then there could be for me a more acceptable misfortune than one like this.[5]

"I suppose the various and manifold austerities we practised were defective, and the result is that now we are bereft of our dear son."

They went on distressing and wearying themselves still more, by weeping and grieving and calling to mind the hundred good qualities of their good and righteous son.

To the king of Kāśi they spoke, and begged him, "Lead

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[1] *Ruṇḍa.* See p. 207, *n.* 1.

[2] *Eṣo artho (a)nayena jāto.*

[3] Literally, "association due to separation from you," *tvayā vinābhāvasambhavo.*

[4] *Pūrvam, i.e.* before anyone else can adequately fill Śyāma's place.

[5] The meaning of the second verse in this stanza is obscure. The text, which seems to be free of uncertainties, reads, *taṃ mama asya varataraṃ na jātu etādṛiśaṃ du:khaṃ. Taṃ* is taken as correlative of *yaṃ* in the preceding verse, *asya* as potential (= Pali *assa*), while *na* is commonly used after a comparative in the sense of "than." Senart, "non sans hésitation," translates thus: "Aussi bien des malheurs seraient plus que celui-là préférables pour moi: il ne saurait jamais y en avoir un pareil." Perhaps, after all, there is a serious flaw in the text.

us thither. For we are blind and sightless, and we cannot go by ourselves."

He replied, " I will lead you to the place where the young seer lies. For surely young was he of life when he was laid low by the poison."[1]

The king of Kāśi, going by the way he had come, (229) *before long came to the place where the young seer was.*

When his mother found him lying insensible where he had fallen on the river-bank, she wept, and caressed his pearly mouth with her hand, saying,

" O dear and beloved son of poor and destitute parents, the kinsman of those who have no (*other*) *kindred. How, my darling, were you hurt?*

" The devas of the forest were truly of no help, since, when they saw Śyāma among the demons, a tiny body though he was, they did not protect the darling.[2]

" Wherever food is found (*for us, though it consist of*) *many hundreds of herbs* (*it will be*) *intolerable* (*for us*), *now that we are bereft of our good and righteous son.*

" Now do the beasts and birds of the hermitage, failing to see the illustrious Śyāma, their joy, most piteously wail."

" Grieve not, Pāragā " (*said her husband*). *" You will gain nought by weeping and grieving.*

" But we have lived a chaste life and for long refrained from sexual intercourse. We will pronounce a spell, and by it we will destroy the poison.

"As, O beautiful Śyāma, your heart did never cling to sin, so is this poison in you destroyed. By this spell rise up.

"As you virtuously, constantly and sincerely protected your parents, so is this poison in you destroyed. By this spell rise up.

"As in you there was nothing to lead to further existence, no pride, nor intoxication, nor hypocrisy,[3] *so is this poison in you destroyed. By this spell rise up."*

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[1] *Mṛigaviṣa*. See p. 207, *n*. 4.

[2] But the text of this stanza and the next is very corrupt, and it might be better to leave them untranslated. The second stanza, besides, has a lacuna, and the translation offered follows Senart's construction of the context. But it is all very doubtful.

[3] *Mrakṣa*, BSk. = Pali *makkha*.[1] Note also Pali *makkha*[1] " (probably = *makkha*,[1] but BSk. differentiated with *mrakṣya*, *Divy*. 622, trsl. Index ' ill-feeling ' ? *B.R.* have *mrakṣya*, ' wohlgefühl '), ' anger,' ' rage '." (*P.E.D.*)

(230) *Then he rose up yawning, the poison within him gone, through the power of his parents and of his own well-spent life.*

When the king saw him raised by that spell he shuddered to the roots of his hair. He fell down at his feet and craved forgiveness.

The Bodhisattva said to him, "May you be blessed in your chariots, your army, your queen, your cities, villages and provinces.

"Behold, you who are the stay of Kāśi, what the result of reverence shown to mother and father is, and how the poison was dispelled by the power of my own good conduct.

"Those who have parents should render them obedience, respect and reverence, if they would go to heaven.[1]

"Honour your mother and father by bringing them all the jewels here in Jambudvīpa. One should not oppose one's parents. So, O king, your parents will not oppose you.

"Have compassion on them as the ancient teachers of the world.[2] *These divine people should be honoured as devas; those who honour their parents know no sorrow."*

She who was the mother at that time is now Māyā. The father of the Exalted One at that time is now King Śuddhodana.

He who because of his great power was raised up by that spell was the Bodhisattva (231), *for the Exalted One was then Śyāma.*

He who was the king at that time was Ānanda, a relative and a servitor of the Exalted One during many thousand lives.

The latter was not yet perfect Buddha nor had the former broken his bonds.[3] *But even then the result of the Exalted One's dharma in one of his former lives was real.*

Here ends the Śyāma-Jātaka.[3]

[1] *Svagam, sic* for *svargam.*
[2] Cf. *A.* 2. 70. *Brahmā ti mātāpitaro pubbācariyā ti vuccare* "Parents are called Brahmā and ancient teachers." Cf. also *J.* 5. 330, and *Sn.* 404.
[3] *Grantha,* 'usually referred to and enumerated as the four bodily ties or knots (*kāyaganthā*), viz., *abhijjha* (covetousness) *byāpāda* (ill-will) *sīlabbataparāmāsa* (delusion in the sufficiency of good works) and *idaṃsaccābhinivesa* (inclination to dogmatise). See *P.E.D.* for references.
[4] Not in *J.*

ŚIRIPRABHA-JĀTAKA

The Bodhisattva was living a life of hardship in the forest of penance near Uruvilvā. He kept to a diet of jujube for eighteen months, subsisting on one jujube fruit a day. He kept to a diet of sesame for eighteen months, subsisting on one sesame seed a day. He kept to a diet of rice for eighteen months, subsisting on one grain of rice a day. For eighteen months he maintained a complete fast.

One jujube fruit was his meal, one sesame seed, and one grain of rice. For wherever a perfect Buddha's knowledge may be,[1] *it is not in a vigorous body.*[2]

Wholly like a shrivelled creeper[3] *did his body become, and his jaw like a buffalo's hoof in diameter.*

His ribs became like the old and withered rafters within (a building)[4]*—so much was the great Sage's body emaciated by his austerities.*

As a long plait of hair curves this way and that, so did his spine and neck curve this way and that.

(232) *His eyes looked out like stars reflected in a pool of water; his breathing was deep like the bellows of a smith.*

As an autumn gourd[5] *plucked when unripe shrivels, so did the head of the Great Sage begin to shrivel.*

Controlled of body was the great hero, paying no heed to thought of self, as he carried on with his grim austerities for the sake of all creatures.

Even though one used every word there is in speaking,[6] *it would not be possible to relate what hardships the Hero went through after he had seen men in misery.*

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[1] *Saṃśraya*, so interpreted by Senart on the analogy of *samucchrita* and *samucchraya* (see Vol. 1, p. 134, *n*. 1). Cf. *Divy*. 70, 73. But the expression is strange.

[2] *Sya* = *syāt*.

[3] "Like an entire *kālāśītaka*," *kālāśītako sarvo*, unless we are to emend *sarvo* into *parva* "like the joint of a *k*.," and so bring the simile into line with those on pp. 125, 126, and 129 of Vol. 2 of the text. For *kālāśītaka* see *n*. 4, p. 121.

[4] Something is wrong with this line—*jīrṇagopānasyāntarikā ośīrṇā pārśvake yathā*—and Senart admits that it is a hypothetical restitution. The simile is given on p. 125 (text), and the nearest we can get to the idea expressed there is by transposing *pārśvakā* (for *pārśvake*) and *yathā*.

[5] *Alambu*, only here (?) for *alābū*, Pali *alābu*.

[6] Literally "speak with every word," *sarvavācāya bhāṣatas*.

As a bird cannot reach the limit of the sky, and as the water in the sea is an immeasureable mighty mass,

So is it not possible, even with every word there is, to tell the limits of the virtues of the Lights of the World,[1] *the Buddhas, the kinsmen of the sun.*

His unanointed skin clung to his back. All his limbs collapsed; there was no strength left in him.[2]

When he sought to grasp the front of his body, it was his back that he held in his grasp; when the Seer tried to stand up he precipitately fell forwards.

When the four devas[3] *saw the weak body of the Hero, they exclaimed, "The Seer is dead; there is no strength left in him."*[4]

While the Pre-eminent of men was practising such grim austerities, the worlds of devas, Asuras and men were seized with wonder.

(**233**) When King Śuddhodana heard from the men whom he questioned of the grim austerities which the prince was undergoing, he, Mahāprajāpatī the Gotamid, Yaśodharā, and all the kingdom of Śākya were filled with longing that now at last the prince would quietly abandon them. Yaśodharā, too, reflected: "It is not right nor fitting that, while a noble son is suffering, living a hard life, lying on a couch of grass and subsisting on coarse fare, I should be eating royal food in the royal palace, drinking royal drinks, wearing royal clothes and having royal beds made for me. Let me now then live on scanty fare, wear common clothes, and have my bed made of straw." So she ate scanty fare, wore common clothes and had her bed made of straw.

When the Exalted one, after setting rolling the noble wheel of dharma, was staying at Rājagṛiha with a company of

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 37, *n.* 1.

[2] The text—*na ca vīryato saṃsati*—is defective here, for, although "o" of *vīryato* may be shortened *metri causa*, no sense can be derived from *saṃsati*. Senart suggests that *na ca vīryam sya śiṣyate* would suit the context, although this reading has little MS. evidence in support of it. In the translation above, however, *vīryato* has been changed to *vīryatā*, which is the reading of one MS. where the phrase recurs below. This would leave *saṃsati* as the only difficulty, and Senart may be nearer the truth than he imagines, when he suggests *śiṣyate*.

[3] *I,e,* "the Four Lords of the world," see Vol. 1, p. 25, *n.* 3.

[4] See note 2. Cf. *M.* 1. 245.

thirteen and a half hundred monks, King Śuddhodana sent Chandaka and Kālodāyin[1] to him with a message, saying, "The Exalted One has shown compassion to devas and men; let him also show it to his kindred. Whatever the Exalted One tells you, that do."

They left Kapilavastu and came to Rājagṛiha. Going up to the Exalted One, they imparted to him the exhortation of King Śuddhodana and all his family. And the Exalted One, with his sense of due time, season and occasion, knew that the time season and occasion were come for visiting his native place. The Exalted One spoke to Chandaka and Kālodāyin, asking them, "Will you take up the religious life?" They replied, "We were bidden by King Śuddhodana to do whatever the Exalted One tells us." And though they saw neither there nor elsewhere[1] any yellow robes (**234**) which they could put on when taking up the religious life, they consented and said to the Exalted One, "Lord, we will take up the religious life."

The Exalted One then pronounced over them the formula of ordination of 'Come, monks,'[3] saying to them, 'Come, monks, Chandaka and Kālodāyin, and live the religious life under the Tathāgata". And when the formula of "Come, monks" had been pronounced over them, every mark, emblem, safeguard[4] and usage of a layman disappeared from their persons, and there came to view three cloaks; a bowl was brought, their hair became fixed of its own accord,[5] and their way of deportment established—in short, the admission and ordination of the venerable Chandaka and Kālodāyin as monks was exactly that of monks who had been ordained a hundred years.

The venerable Udāyin[6] said to the Exalted One, "Lord, Yaśodharā was passionately devoted to the Exalted One. While the Exalted One was living a hard life in the forest of penance, Yaśodharā, too, was living on scanty fare, wearing common clothes, giving up her royal beds, and making herself beds of

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[1] Son of one of Śuddhodana's ministers. The *Mhvu.* seems to be the only text which makes Chandaka accompany him on this mission. (See *D.P.N.*, where the *Mhvu.* reference should be ii. 231.)

[2] ? *nāpyatva nāpito.*

[3] See Vol. I, p. 3.

[4] *Gṛihigupti*, but the exact meaning of *gupti* here is not clear; *kalpa*, "usage" (?) in *gṛihikalpa* also is unusual.

[5] *I.e.* in the way it was worn by monks.

[6] *I.e. Kālodāyin.* See *D.P.N.* for explanation of both names.

straw." The monks asked the Exalted One, "How, Lord, was it that Yaśodharā was devoted to the Exalted One?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the first time that Yaśodharā was devoted to me. She was devoted to me on another occasion also." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes monks."

Once upon a time,[1] monks, long ago, in a certain forest there lived a deer named Śiriprabha, who was comely, handsome, well-built of body, with red hooves and legs and shining eyes. He had charge of a herd of five hundred deer. And this king of deer had a chief queen who was passionately devoted and attached to him; not for an instant was she separated from him.

There was a certain hunter named Nīlaka who set[2] snares for the deer in that part of the forest. (235) As Śiriprabha, accompanied by that great herd of deer was roaming in that part of the forest, he was caught. And all the deer and does, on seeing their king caught, fled. But this one doe, being devoted and attached to the king, stayed behind and did not run away.

The doe addressed Śiriprabha in verse:—

Make valiant effort to escape,[3] *O Śiriprabha, make a valiant effort, O king of deer, before that hunter comes who set the snare. Rend these snares of leather.*[4] *I shall have no joy apart from you.*

Then, monks, Śiriprabha, the king of deer, replied to the doe in verse:—

I am making a valiant effort to escape, but I cannot, and fall back violently to the ground. These stout thongs of leather cut my feet.

Good dame, you will find delight with another lord in pleasant glades and hills and woods.

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[1] This is Jātaka No. 359 (Fausböll).

[2] *Oḍḍita*, past. part. of Pali *oḍḍeti*, either a variant of *uḍḍeti* with the special sense of "to lay (snares)," or, more likely, a causative form *ava* (= *o*) + *ḍī* = *lī* "to stick to," etc. See P.E.D.

[3] *Vikramāhi*, from *vikramati*, which connotes at the same time, "effort," "courage" and "escape" (*vi*).

[4] *Vāratraka*, Pali *vārattika*, from *varatta* (cf. Vedic *varatrā*), "strap," "thong," "strip of leather."

And, monks, the doe replied to the king of deer in verse :—

With you indeed I shall enjoy pleasant glades and hills and woods, but in another life.

When he heard them wailing and lamenting, the wicked, hard-hearted hunter came on the scene.

When the king of deer saw from afar the hunter coming, black of complexion, with white (**236**) teeth, red eyes, like a cannibal, in dark-blue garb, he again addressed the doe in verse :—

Lo, here comes the hunter, a black man dressed in blue, who will rend my skin and flesh, and slay me.

But when the hunter was near, the doe went up to him and addressed him in verse :—

Spread the leaves, hunter, and draw your knife. Slay me first, then do violence to the king of deer.

But, monks, this reflection occurred to the hunter, " The deer ran away when they saw me far off, and disappeared, but this doe, on the other hand, utterly without fear, sacrificed herself and came to meet me. She was not afraid, nor did she run away." And the hunter was amazed and filled with wonder at seeing the behaviour of the doe. " What a doe this is," said he. " We men have not the virtues of creatures like these. It is not they, who have such magnanimity, such fortitude, such gratitude and such devotion, that are beasts, although they gather food with their mouths. We are the beasts, who attack such a magnanimous deer and do it harm. Not[1] so. I shall rescue this deer from the snare." And the hunter addressed the doe in verse :—

I have neither heard nor seen a deer speaking like a human. Be at ease, lady, I set free the noble deer for you.

Thus Śiriprabha, the king of deer, who had been caught in a snare, was set free by the hunter. Then when she had seen the king of deer set free, the doe, (**237**) enraptured, joyful, glad and happy addressed the hunter in verse :—

[1] *Mā*, elliptic. There is no known usage of *mā* governing the future which would give sense here by taking it with *vaheṣyam,* " I shall carry out of " (= " rescue ").

"O hunter, may you and all your folk rejoice, as I this day rejoice on seeing the great deer set free."

The Exalted One, the Master, calling to mind a former abode of his, a former existence, related this Jātaka to his monks.

The Exalted One explained this tale with reference to the skandhas, *the* dhātus, *the* āyatanas *and the* ātman.[1]

When of yore I lived in one of my lives which had no beginning or end,[2] I was Śiriprabha, and Yaśodharā the doe. Ānanda was the hunter. Thus understand this Jātaka.

Thus, with old age, fear and grief cast away, he related to his monks this birth of his, his boundless great suffering, his faring up and down in the past.

Here ends the Jātaka of Śiriprabha the deer.[3]

THE TEMPTATION BY MĀRA[4]

Now while the Bodhisattva was living his life of austerity in the forest of penance near Uruvilvā, on the banks of the river Nairañjanā, wicked Māra approached him and said, "What wilt thou gain by this striving ?[5] Go and live at home. Thou wilt become a universal king. Perform the great sacrifices, the horse-sacrifice, the human sacrifice, the "throwing of the peg,"[6] the "house-unbarred",[7] the "red-lotus" and the "white-lotus" sacrifices.[8] If thou wilt have performed these sacrifices,

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[1] Cf. p. 90.

[2] See p. 90, *n.* 5.

[3] One MS. adds "in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna."

[4] The account of this episode closely resembles the *Padhāna-sutta* (*Sn.* 424ff).

[5] *Prahāṇa.* See p. 120, *n.* 2.

[6] Reading *śamyāprāsa* for *somaprāsa* ("throwing of soma" !). *Divy.* 634 has *śamyaprāśa.*

[7] *Nirargaḍa*, Pali *niraggala.*

[8] *Padumaṃ puṇḍarīkam ca.* With the exception of these two, these sacrifices are often mentioned together (see e.g. *A.* 2. 42 ; 4. 151 ; *It.* 21 ; *S.* 1. 76). The commentary on *S.* (*SA.* 1. 145 ff.) says that they were all harmless and bloodless sacrifices until the time of King Okkāka (*Sn.* 302 *ff.*). The *assamedha* was then *sassamedha*, "sacrifice for a good harvest," and *purisamedha* was a general feed of six months. The "house-unbarred" and "throwing the peg" suggest a time of festivity when all kept open house and indulged in games, though the commentary says that the latter was called "a bond to bind maidens' hearts." The red-lotus and white-lotus sacrifices, however, are not mentioned elsewhere, and there is no real clue as to their nature. All that one can safely say is that the use or presence of the lotus in Indian ritual is quite in keeping with the Indian regard for that flower.

when thou diest thou wilt rejoice in heaven and wilt beget great merit. Striving is difficult and hard to surmount.[1] (238) To live a life of chastity means the loss of blameless merit."[2]

The Bodhisattva replied, "I have no use for deeds of merit, thou wicked one."

Seeing these pleasant woods and forest thickets near Uruvilvā, I strove the striving.[3] *When I had come to the end of my striving for the attainment of the uttermost good, Namuci*[4] *came along speaking words of commiseration.*

"Thou art lean," said he, "haggard of look, and death is near to thee. Stop thy great striving, or else thou hast no hope of life.

"Life is the greatest good for thee, for by living thou canst perform deeds of merit. Do these meritorious deeds, so that when dead thou wilt not sorrow.

"By living a brāhman's life[5] *and tending the sacrificial fire, thou wilt beget unending merit. But what wilt thou achieve by this striving?*

"Hope is far from striving, which is a difficult task and hard to surmount."[6] *These were the words Māra spoke in the presence of the Bodhisattva.*

Then the Bodhisattva replied, and said to Māra,[7] *"Thou son of darkness*[8]*, thou wicked one, I have not come hither in quest of merit.*

"I have no use, Māra, for the tiniest of merits. Why Māra, dost thou not speak to those who have use of merits?

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[1] *Durabhisambhaṇaṃ* (*sic*) for *durabhisambhuṇaṃ*, for which see Vol. 1, p. 35, *n.* 3. The corresponding Pali (*Sn.* 429) is *durabhisambhavo.*

[2] *Anavadyapuṇyapārihāṇi brahmacaryavāsaṃ*, where *brahmacarya* is used in the specific Buddhist sense. *Sn.* (428) is different here, having *carato ca te brahmacariyaṃ . . . pahūtaṃ cīyate puññaṃ*, "while you live a brahman student's life, you will heap up plentiful merit," i.e. *brahmacariya* is used in the orthodox Hindu sense. Perhaps our text is at fault; *pārihāṇi* is certainly suspect. The verse below is nearer to *Sn.*

[3] *Prahāṇaṃ prahitaṃ mayā*, where *prahitam* is the Pali *pahita*, past. part. of *padahati*. For *prahāṇa* see p. 120, *n.* 2. The translation has been adopted from *Minor Anthologies*, III.

[4] *I.e.* Māra. For explanation of the epithet see Vol. 1, p. 65, *n.* 3.

[5] *Brahmacaryam.* See *n.* 2.

[6] *Durabhisambhuṇa.* See *n.* 1.

[7] *Taṃ tathā idāniṃ Māraṃ Bodhisattvo* (*a*)*dhyabhāṣata.* Perhaps we should emend the first three words to *taṃ tathāvādinaṃ*, "to Māra speaking this," as in *Sn.* 430, for this gives a simpler text.

[8] *Kṛiṣṇabandhu.* Cf. *M.* 1. 337, where Māra is called *Kaṇha*, "the dark one."

"I do not think that I am immortal, for life has death as its end. Relying on my holy life, I shall go thither whence there is no return.

(239) *"The wind can dry up the streams of the rivers; why may I not dry up my blood by my resolute exertion?*[1]

"The body dries up, and its gall, phlegm and humour; let the flesh and blood also presently waste away.

"While the flesh is failing the mind becomes more tranquil; there come to be greater mindfulness, zeal and concentration.

"He who lives thus and has reached the highest plane is not this broken body; look rather at the purity of his being.[2]

"I have will, zeal, and wisdom. I see none in the world who could keep me from my striving.

"[ ][3] *That luxury is destructive of life. I am disgusted with life at home.*

"Therefore, keeping mindful, self-possessed and free of attachment [ ][4]

"Now here I am, having by my struggle made the minds of others to grow, and having by my strength pierced the jungle of passions I have achieved what is to be achieved."[5]

"From beneath the bodhi-*tree, before I yet had won my immortal state, I saw Māra's mailed hosts approaching with their banners flying.*[6]

(240) *"(And I said), I shall advance to the fight; I shall not retreat to manoeuvre for position.*[7] *By and by I will repel this host.*

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[1] Literally, "the blood of me who am resolute," *mama prahitātmasya śoṇitam.* For the sentiment cf. *S.* 2. 28; *A.* 1. 50; *M.* 1. 481. With *prahitātma* cf. Pali *pahitattā.*

[2] *Sn.* and *Mhvu.* differ considerably here.

[3] Lacuna.

[4] Lacuna.

[5] There is nothing in *Sn.* which corresponds to these last four verses. In *vanaṃ bhinditvā* there is a play on the two meanings of *vana,* "wood" and (in Pali) "lust," "desire." See Vol. 1, p. 73, *n.* 2. Cf. also *Dh.* 283, *vanaṃ chindatha.*

[6] The reference to the *bodhi*-tree shows that these verses are not in place here. The temptation by Māra described in the rest of the text is that undergone by the Buddha when he was still practising austerities in the forest; that which he underwent under the *bodhi*-tree forms another episode and is described, *e.g.*, in *J.* 1. 71 ff. and *BuA.* 239 f.

[7] *Nāhaṃ sthānārthamupāviśe,* "I shall not go within (?) for the sake of position." *Sn.* 442 has *mā maṃ ṭhānā acāvayi,* "lest he move me from my place." But the *Mhvu.* tradition is definitely in favour of the text reading, for one MS. has *sthānārthāya viṣye* and another *sthānārthaṃ viṣo* (?).

"Thy first army is called desire, and the second discontent;[1] *the third is called hunger and thirst, and the fourth craving.*

"The fifth is called sloth and torpor, and the sixth fear;[2] *the seventh is doubt, and the eighth is pride. Then there are greed, and falsely won praise, esteem and renown.*

"This is Namuci's mailed and bannered host. Many a recluse and brāhman are seen in the thick of the fray.[3]

"A craven does not overcome this host, even if he does he will rue it.[4] *But I will destroy it as easily as water destroys an unbaked vessel of clay.*[5]

"Winning control over thy shafts,[6] *making mindfulness my good servant, living with an access of zeal, I will win over even thy own disciples.*

"Foolish, stupid people give themselves to indolence, but I will go, in spite of thee, to the place where ill ceases."[7]

Then, overcome with grief, Māra's lyre slipped from his armpit,[8] *and the disconsolate fiend forthwith vanished from sight.*

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[1] Reading *arati* for *ārati* of the text. N.B. The Royal Danish Academy's *A Critical Pali Dictionary* cites this passage as having *arati*.

[2] *Bhīru*, a masc. substantive, as at *Sn.* 437 (*vl.* for *ābhīru* in text).

[3] Literally, "plunged there," *pragāḍhā atra*. *Sn.* 441 has *na dissanti*, which E. M. Hare (*Woven Cadences*, p. 64) renders "go astray." Two MSS. of the *Mhvu.* also have the negative *na*, but the sequence of verses hereabouts differs so much in the two texts that it would be inadvisable to seek to emend the *Mhvu.* to make it accord with *Sn.* The line following this in *Sn.* has no corresponding one in the *Mhvu.*

[4] *Jitvā vā anuśocati.* This does not make good sense, but the *apparatus criticus* affords no clue to emendation. *Sn.* 439 has *jetvā ca labhate sukham*, "he who has conquered wins happiness."

[5] *Sn.* 443 has *āmaṃ pattaṃ va aṃhanā*, "as (one destroys) an unbaked pot with a stone." Does a Pali v.l. *ambhanā* suggest that *ambunā* (as in *Mhvu.*) is the original reading? Water is certainly more natural as a destroyer of unbaked pots, and is found elsewhere in *Mhvu.* in like similes.

[6] *Vaśākaritvāna te śalyam.* *Sn.* 444 has *vasiṃkaritvā saṃkappam*, "having my purpose in control." But there is no clue to an emendation of *Mhvu.*

[7] There is no stanza in *Sn.* corresponding to this.

[8] The text here clearly calls for emendation. As printed it reads *tasya śokaparītasya vināśaṃ gacchi ucchriti.* Senart is doubtful of the correctness of this and suggests that *ucchriti* is used in a figurative sense. But even so it is difficult to construe the genitive *tasya, etc.* *Sn.* 449 reads *tassa sokaparetassa vīṇā kacchā abhassatha.* Now for *gacchi ucchriti* of the text the MSS. have *gacchito* (*gacchoto, sic*) *sṛita*, which may plausibly be emended to read *kacchato osṛita* (= *ava*° = *apasṛita*). The line as adopted for translation is, therefore, *tasya śokaparītasya vīṇā kacchato osṛita.* For Māra's lyre see *S.* I. 122.

ŚAKUNTAKA-JĀTAKA[1]

When the Bodhisattva, dismayed at the thought of this deliberate falsehood,[2] shrinking (241) from such a deliberate falsehood, had rebuffed the devas by saying " Enough of that," and had taken some pleasant and appetizing food, then the fine[3] group of five disciples left him in disgust, saying, " The recluse Gotama has lapsed from his concentration, become remiss, and is once more taking a quantity of appetizing food."

And during the six years that the Bodhisattva was living his life of hardship Māra was ever at his back seeking and watching for a chance to tempt him.[4] But though he pursued him closely for six years, he did not get a chance, did not get an opportunity,[5] and did not get access[6] to him, and in disgust he went away.

Him, whom Māra at no time could overcome any more than the winds can overcome the Himalayas, him, the repeller of death, do the worlds of devas and men adore.

The monks asked the Exalted One, " Did the Exalted One live a life of hardship from a desire for release ? " The Exalted One replied, " That was not the first time, monks, that I lived a life of hardship from a desire for release." The monks asked, " Was there another occasion, Lord ? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks, there was."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, a fowler used to catch birds in the forests with nets and snares. Shutting them up in cages, he fed them with corn and water, and when he had made them plump[7] he sold them at a good price.

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[1] Fausböll 118, *J.* 1. 434 f.

[2] See p. 126.

[3] *Bhadra.* Ironic.

[4] *Avatāra,* BSk. in the sense of Pali *otāra,* " approach to, access, chance, opportunity," only in these senses in the Māra myth ; hence the word connotes " chance to tempt." See *P.E.D.* for further details. Sk. *avatāra,* " descent " in the sense of " incarnation," is very much later.

[5] *Ālambaṇa,* Pali *ārammaṇa.*

[6] *Abhiniveśana.*

[7] *Vaḍḍa-vaḍḍa,* from *vṛiddh,* " to increase." Senart cites *Hemaçandra,* 4. 364, for an example of the same form in Apabhraṃśa.

In this way a certain bird was caught and confined in a cage. Now this bird was sagacious, and saw how the birds which had been put in the cage before it had been fed and fattened, and then bought by somebody and taken out[1] of the cage. The sagacious bird understood that the fowler did not give them corn and water from a desire for their welfare, but from a desire for his own profit, and that when they were fattened they were sold at a good price.

(242) " So," said the bird, " I shall so act that no one will buy and no one will pay any attention to me and choose me. I'll take just as much food as will keep me from dying but will not make me fat." The bird thus ate so much food and drank so much water as did not fatten it but still kept it from dying.

A man who bought birds came along, and that bird was standing behind the door of its cage. The bird fancier put his hand into the cage and felt the bird all over, but did not find much flesh on it. He weighed it and found that it was not heavy. So he took the other birds, which were fat and heavy, to his home, and left it behind, thinking that the bird was lean and sick and that no one would take it. The fowler, too, saw this, and said, " It must be that this bird is sick. But if this sick bird is set at liberty, it will eat more corn and drink more water. Then when it is fattened, it can be sold. I must see to it that this bird does not infect the other birds with sickness. I will take it out[2] of its cage and keep it out. It will get separate[3] corn and separate water, and the moment it is fat enough it will be sold."

The sagacious bird, too, won the fowler's confidence. When he opened the door of the cage to give the birds corn or water, the bird would enter the cage even without his knowing it. And also when he was absent (243) it would enter the cage of itself. When it wished to get out of the cage it would hop out itself. No one stopped it because it was considered to be a sick bird.

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[1] *Kaḍḍhiyanti*, passive of *kaḍḍhati*, Pali, " a dialect form supposed to equal Sk. *karṣati*, cf. Prk. *kaḍḍhai*, to pull, tear, *kaḍḍhā*, pit, dug-out." (P.E.D.)

[2] *Niṣkuḍḍiya*. Possibly the more correct reading would be *niṣkuḍḍhiya*, and Senart suggests that the root is *kṛiṣ*, " to drag," and compares *kaḍḍhati*, above p. 72, *n.* 1. Cf. also Pali *nikkaḍḍhati*. But the " u " still requires explanation.

[3] *Pāṭiyeka*, Pali (also *pāṭekka*) the diaeretic form of *pacceka*, " several," " distinct," " single." See *P.E.D.*

Now as it hopped in and out of its open cage in the manner of a weak bird, people paid no heed to it, regarding it as a sick bird. And when it realised that the fowlers trusted it, it started to take more corn and drink more water, so that it could escape and fly far away. So when it became sure that it was time for it to escape, it rose up in the air, and, hovering above its cage, spoke this verse to the other birds.

The unreflecting man does not attain distinction.[1] *See how by distinction of thought I am freed from my prison.*

And when the bird had recited this verse, it flew away from the fowler's place and returned to the forest.

The Exalted One said, " It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the sagacious bird was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion, was the sagacious bird. You will think that at that time and on that occasion the fowler was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Wicked Māra at that time and on that occasion was the fowler. Then also did I practise austerities from a desire to be released from the cage of Māra the fowler.

Here ends the Śakuntaka-Jātaka.

KACCHAPA-JĀTAKA[2]

(**244**) The monks said to the Exalted One, " By means of his unique intelligence the Exalted One, when he was a bird, escaped after he had fallen into the hands, into the power, and into the cage of Māra." The Exalted One replied, " On another occasion, also, did I, by means of my unique intelligence escape after I had fallen into the hands, the power, and the basket of Māra." The monks asked, " Was there another occasion, Lord? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks."

[1] *Viśeṣamadhigacchati.* Cf. BSk. *viśeṣadhigama.*
[2] Not in *J.*, but the tortoise story at *S.* 4, 177 *f.* bears some resemblance to it.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, near the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, there was a river called Paripātrika.[1] On its bank was a field belonging to a florist.[2] Now it happened on a time that the florist came to the field[3] to pick flowers. With his basket full of flowers for making into wreaths he hurried off in the direction of the village.

Just then a tortoise came out of the water and started eating cow-dung not far away from the florist. It was seen by the florist, who reflected, "This tortoise will make me to-day a fine pot-full."[4] So putting his basket of flowers on one side he caught the tortoise and put it in his basket.

But then the tortoise spoke to him in a human voice, saying, "Look, I am plastered with mud, so be careful that the mud will not spoil your flowers. Wash me in the water, therefore, then put me in the basket. In that way the flowers will not be spoilt." The florist looked at it, and said, "This, truly, is a fine tortoise. I'll go round and wash it in the water, and then these flowers will not be spoilt by the mud on it."

As soon as it was in its native element the tortoise stretched out its four limbs and its neck,[5] and slipped out of the florist's hands. It plunged into the river and came up again to the bank not far away and addressed the florist in verse :—

(245) *The Pāripātri*[6] *is clean, but through delving in the earth on its banks as hard as I could, I am covered with mud. Wash me, florist, and put me in your basket.*[7]

And, monks, the florist replied to the turtle in verse :—

The king has heaped much wealth on me ; I have acquired

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[1] Otherwise unknown.

[2] Or "wreath-maker," *mālākāra*.

[3] *Mālākāro mālasyaiva taṃ velaṃ vanamālamāgatvā.* The words *mālasya eva* are untranslatable, unless *mālasya* = *mālāyās*, and the meaning is "the wreath maker of a wreath." Perhaps, however, the right reading should be—and this suits the context—*mālāyās evaṃ artham* (or *arthāya*), "for the sake of a wreath."

[4] *Olaṃka*, Pali *uḷuṃka*, "ladle, spoon," Sk., *udanka*, "vessel," "bucket."

[5] Literally, "its limbs with its neck (proboscis) as the fifth," *suṇḍikāpañcamañi angāni*. *Śuṇḍikā* is taken as = *śuṇḍa*.

[6] Paripātrika, above.

[7] *Pelā*, Pali *peḷa*, Class Sk. and BSk. *peṭa*, *peṭī*, and *peḍa* BSk. variant *phelā*, e.g. *Mhvu.* 2. 465.

the three precious things in abundance.[1] *There, my fine tortoise you will be happy in my basket of garlands.*

But, monks, the tortoise replied in verse to the florist :—

The king may have heaped much wealth on you ; you may have acquired the three precious things in abundance. You yet are talking like a drunkard ; go and eat your fine tortoise in oil.

The Exalted One said, " It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion that fine tortoise was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the tortoise. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the florist was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? Wicked Māra here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the florist. Then, too, did I by my unique intelligence slip out of the florist's hands, and now also have I escaped from the control of Māra by my unique intelligence."

Here ends the Kacchapa-Jātaka.

THE MARKATA-JĀTAKA[2]

"Further, monks, these were not the only occasions that I escaped from his control. On another occasion, also, did I do so." (**246**) The monks asked, " Was there another occasion, Lord ? " The Exalted One replied, " Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, there was a great forest near the sea-coast, a forest made beautiful by divers groves, with trees of various colours laden with flowers and fruits, including fig-trees. In this forest there was a monkey, lord of a large herd of monkeys. With this herd he lived in that

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[1] *Bahukā maye sañcitāsu rājñā trigaṇo bahuko samāgato.* The translation follows the interpretation offered by Senart, who points out that *trigaṇa* is a synonym for *trivarga, i.e. dharma, kāma, artha.* But it is difficult to see the point of such a statement here. One is tempted to emend *trigaṇo* into *triguṇam,* " three-fold," and read *trigunaṃ bahukaṃ samāgataṃ,* " I have found three times as much."

[2] Fausböll, No. 208, *Suṃsumārajātaka. J.* 2. 158 ff.

forest, which was peaceful and secluded, the haunt of many hundreds of wild beasts and birds, but unfrequented by man.

Now the king of the monkeys happened to be perched on a tall, thickly branched and foliaged fig-tree, and eating figs. And a large crocodile[1] emerged from the sea and came to the spot, and lay down on the beach. The king of the monkeys saw him, and when he had seen him he felt pity for him. "Where," he asked himself, "can these water creatures who live in the sea get flowers and fruits? What if I were to give him figs from this tree?" So he threw down from the fig-tree some plump,[2] ripe, lovely and luscious figs, and the crocodile ate them as they fell. The crocodile came again and again to the spot where the monkey was, and every time the monkey threw him figs from the fig-tree. The monkey and the crocodile thus grew to be fond of each other.

The crocodile's wife, missing her husband, began to fret. "It must be," thought she, "that my lord has taken another mistress. So he leaves me and goes to lie with her." And she asked her husband, "Where do you lie down when you are away from me?" The crocodile replied, "Yonder, on the shore, in a place where there is a great forest. There I have a monkey friend, (**247**) and with him I lie down and chat."

Then the female crocodile thought, "As long as that monkey lives, so long will my lord go to him, and lie down and chat with him. So I'll have that monkey killed, and then my lord will no longer go to that place." And she lay down and pretended to be ill. The crocodile asked her, "My dear, what is the matter? What ails you? What would you like? Tell me what I can give you, just say the word." She replied, "Sir, I have a longing for the heart of a monkey. If I get the heart of a monkey, I'll live; if not, I'll die." He said to her, "Be sensible. How can a monkey be found in the sea? If you have a desire for anything living in water I'll get it for you." But she replied, "I have no desire for anything but for the heart of a monkey. If you wish me to live, you'll get me that." He tried again and again to appease her. "Be sensible, my dear," said he, "how can a monkey be found in the sea?" She replied, "Bring me the heart of that

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[1] *Śuśumāra*, Sk. *śiśumāra*, Pali *suṃsumāra*.
[2] *Vaḍḍavaḍḍa*, see p. 228, *n*. 7.

monkey friend of yours on the sea-shore." He said, "Be sensible. That monkey is my comrade and friend. How can I tear his heart out?" But she replied, "If you cannot get me the heart of the monkey I cannot go on living."

The crocodile, being completely under the sway of his wife, said, "I live in the water, while the monkey lives on land and in the forest. Where he goes there is no way for me. How shall I manage to bring you the heart of that monkey?"

But, as the wise have said:—

Nobles have a hundred wiles, the brāhmans two hundred. The wiles of kings are a thousand; those of women without number.

(248) The female crocodile said to him, "These monkeys feed on fruits and are very fond of them. So say to the monkey, 'My friend, go to the shore across the sea. There you'll find divers trees of various kinds laden with clusters of flowers and fruits, the mango, the rose-apple, the breadfruit, the *bhavya*,[1] the *pālevata*,[2] the *kṣīraka*,[3] the *tinduka*, and the fig-tree.[4] Come then, I'll guide you, and you shall feast on these variegated fruits.' Then when he is in your power, kill him, and bring me his heart."

The crocodile assented, and said, "I'll bring you the heart of that monkey. Be reassured, and do not fret any more lest you be sorry for it."

Having thus consoled his wife the crocodile went to the place where the king of the monkeys dwelt in the forest. He was seen by the latter, who was delighted to see him, and asked him, "My friend, how is it you have been so long in coming to visit me? Had you no leisure, or were you troubled by illness?" The crocodile replied, "Friend, I had leisure, and I was not ill. But I have been on a visit to the shore across the sea." The monkey asked him, "What was the farther shore like?" The crocodile replied, "My friend, the shore across the sea is delightful; it is adorned with thousands of

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[1] *Bhavya*, see Vol. I, p. 205, *n.* 2.

[2] Pali *pārevata*, the tree *Diospyros embryopteris* (*P.E.D.*). *B.R.* has *pālevata* = *pālīvata*, a particular tree.

[3] ? Name of a plant = *kṣīramoraṭa*, "a creeper."

[4] *Pippila*, the holy fig-tree, *Ficus Religiosa*. The monkey's fig-tree was the *udumbara*, *Ficus Glomerati*.

varied trees laden with goodly fruits, the mango, the rose-apple, the breadfruit, the *bhavya*, the *pālevata*, the citron, the *tinduka*, the piyal,[1] the *madhuka*,[2] the *kṣīraka* and many other fruit-bearing trees, which are not to be found here. If you are willing, come, we will go[3] there to enjoy those variegated fruits."

Now when the monkey, who lived on fruits and was fond of them, heard of those variegated fruits, there grew up in him a desire to go to that sea-shore. And he said to the crocodile, (249) " As I am a land animal how can I go across the sea ? " The crocodile replied, " I'll take you across. You can get on my back, lie down there, and hold on to my head[4] with both hands." The monkey said, " Very well, I'll go if you think it's all right."[5] The crocodile replied, " Come down, I'll take you."

Then the monkey came down from the fig-tree, got on the crocodile's back and held on with both hands to his head. And the crocodile, carrying the monkey, started to cross the sea. But he had not gone far when he shook off the monkey into the water. The monkey asked him, " Why do you shake me off into the water ? " The crocodile replied, " My friend, you do not know for what purpose I have brought you. It is because my wife has a longing for a monkey's heart. It is to get a monkey's heart that I have brought you along. Friend, my wife will eat your heart. That is why I have brought you."

The monkey said, " I left my coveted heart on the fig-tree so that I could cross the sea lighter and not be too heavy a burden. Therefore, since it is your task to get a monkey's heart, let us turn back here, and then I'll bring down the monkey's heart from the fig-tree and give it to you."

The crocodile believed what the monkey had told him, and, taking him up once more, he turned back and in a short while came to the place in the forest which they had left. Then the monkey leapt from the crocodile's back and climbed into the fig-tree. The crocodile said, " Friend, come down and bring that heart from the fig-tree with you."

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[1] The *Buchanania latifolia*, in Bengal called Piya or Piyal.
[2] The *Bassin latifolia*.
[3] *Gamyate*, impersonal passive, unless we read *gamyaṃ te*, " you must go."
[4] *Karkarīya*. Senart assumes this to be a protuberance on the animal's head shaped like a " vase," *karkari*.
[5] *Yadi manesi*, but this verbal form is very strange if from *man*. Perhaps we should read *maṃ nesi*, " if you will lead (take) me out."

But, monks, the monkey replied to the crocodile in verse :—

You are fat[1] *and grown up, but you have no wit. Fool, do you not know that there is nobody anywhere without a heart?*

(250) *One should not disclose one's secret purpose before one's task is done. Clever people get to know of it, like the monkey on the sea.*[2]

None of those mangoes, rose-apples and breadfruit, which are across the sea, for me. This ripe fig is enough for me.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the monkey living in the forest on the sea-shore was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the monkey living in the forest on the sea-shore.

"You may think that the crocodile in the sea at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Wicked Māra here at that time and on that occasion was the crocodile in the sea. Then, too, did I, after I had fallen into his hands and power, escape from his control by my unique intelligence. And now also have I got out of the control of this wicked Māra."

Here ends the Markaṭa-Jātaka.

THE ŚAKUNTAKA-JĀTAKA (2)[3]

The monks said to the Exalted One, "See, Lord, how the wicked Māra followed closely upon the heels of the Exalted One when he abode in the forest of penance practising austerities, and how he aimed at and sought an opportunity to tempt him, but, not getting the opportunity, retired in disgust." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the first time that wicked Māra followed closely on my heels, aiming at and seeking an opportunity to tempt me, and, not getting it, retired

[1] *Vaḍḍa*, see p. 228, *n*. 7.

[2] This stanza is obviously a moralising inserted by the narrator. It breaks the sequence of the monkey's reply.

[3] Fausböll, No. 209 = *J*. 2. 160 ff.

in disgust." The monks asked the Exalted One, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, near the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, (**251**) a fowler set[1] snares[2] and scattered bait in the forest to catch birds. Then he went to one side and sat down where he could get a view of the snares.

In that part of the forest there was a sagacious bird who had charge of a great flock of birds. Through the unique intelligence of its master, the flock of birds increased in number; it did not dwindle. He protected the birds from fowlers, from *caṇḍālas*,[3] from hunters, from cats and jackals, from polecats and mongoose.[4]

Now when the fowler had gone away, that bird, roaming in that part of the forest with his great flock of birds, came to the spot where the fowler had set his snares and scattered his bait. And as they moved about the birds scented the smell of sesame, rice, *kodrava*[5] and *śyāma*[6]. Scenting the smell of the bait, they looked here and there. At last they saw it; they could see it there all around them.

The birds reported this to the master of the flock. "Master," said they, "in this place there are grains of sesame, rice, *kodrava* and *śyāma*, let us go and eat." But the bird replied to them, "Do not go. This is a tract of the forest. Grain, whether of rice, *kodrava* or *śyāma* does not naturally grow here. These and other grains grow in fields, not in a forest tract. Now what has happened here is that fowlers have set a snare and scattered bait in order to catch birds. Do not go near, but go wherever I go."

The fowler had caught sight of that great flock of birds in the forest. So he moved day by day from one place to another.

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[1] *Oḍḍita*, see p. 222, *n.* 2.

[2] The text has *kālapāśa*, "the noose of Yāma or death." *J.* has *vālapāśa*, "hair-noose," a reading found in our MSS. also at some places. The simple sense of "snare" is adequate for translation, whatever reading be adopted.

[3] Members of a very low caste, see p. 167, *n.* 1.

[4] The text has *bhangakula*, which is an unknown word. Senart suggests that the reading of one MS. may point to a form *mungusakula*. Even so, we would have two words (the other being *nakula*) denoting the same animal. The translation given must be regarded as only approximately correct.

[5] See p. 200, *n.* 5.

[6] See p. 200, *n.* 6.

Wherever he noticed the birds going, there day by day did he set his snares (252) and scatter bait. And all the time and everywhere the bird who was master of the flock kept the birds from the snares and the bait. Thus they steered clear of the snares.[1]

The fowler grew weary as he followed the master of the flock through the forest in order to spread his bait. Tormented by hunger and thirst, he said to himself, " Presently these birds will be caught; in a moment they will be caught; they will fall into the snares." But the birds, following behind their master, went all round the snares, and although they saw the bait, they did not step on to the ground where there were a bait and a snare. By always walking away from the snares and bait they kept themselves safe.

The fowler, from where he stood by himself,[2] saw the birds walking all round the snares, and he said to himself, " They will go near in the evening; they will presently be caught; in a moment they will be caught."

So the fowler, as he pursued the flock day after day through the forest, was tormented by hunger and thirst. His mouth was dry and his lips were swollen. He was tortured by the cold when it was cold and scorched by the heat when it was hot. He was burnt by the hot winds, and every evening tired out[3] he went home baffled, with his hands sore.

But seeing the flock of birds again he forgot his weariness,[4] and he constantly went chasing after the flock of birds, setting snares and scattering bait. Then, when in the last month of summer he had gone into the forest in pursuit of that flock of birds and had again set his snares (253) and scattered his bait, he went to one side and sat down where he could see his snares. The bird who was the master and guardian of the flock came with his great flock and walked all round the snares and the bait. The birds again saw the sesame and rice, and when they had seen them asked permission of their master, saying, " Let

[1] Literally, " they went from the space or area of the snares," *kālapāśokāsā* (= *kālapāśāvakāsāt*) *gacchanti*.

[2] *eko tāto*.

[3] *Khijjitvā*, BSk. past participle of *khijjati*, passive of *khid*. Cf. *akhijjanta*, below same page.

[4] Reading with one MS. *akhijjanto* for *akhijjantam* of the text, " not being wearied."

us go and feed on the sesame and rice." But the master of the flock said, "Do not go near to them. For how can sesame and rice grow in the forest? Sesame grows in fields and[1] rice and other grain in irrigated land. Do not go near, but keep away from the place."

And the fowler realised how things were. "For a long time now," said he, "I have tired myself in the forest trying to catch the birds, setting my snares and scattering bait. I have spent a long time setting snares and scattering bait in this small tract of forest. Yet at no time have those birds gone near to the snares or fed on the bait. For many a year have I tired myself, being tormented by the cold when it was cold, scorched by the heat when it was warm, buffetted by the hot winds, famished with hunger and parched[2] with thirst. But never during so many years of my wandering about has a single bird from that great flock fallen into my hands. What trick can there be, by means of which I may catch these birds in my snares?" And he said to himself, "What now if I were to cover[3] myself with leaves and twigs and so entice[4] these birds into my snares?"

Then, monks, in the last month of summer, in spite of being tormented by the hot winds (254) and suffering from hunger and thirst, the fowler covered himself with leaves and twigs, and set out to drive that big flock of birds to the place where the snares were. And, monks, those birds saw the fowler when he was some way off, moving[5] about under the cover of the twigs of trees, and they reported this to the master of the flock, saying, "Master, here is a tree moving about round the flock."

And thus, monks, the master of the flock addressed the birds in verse:—

In the forest I have seen aśvakarṇa-[6]*trees,* vibhītakas,[7] karṇikāras,[8] mucilindas[9] *and* ketakas.[10] *But these grow*

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[1] Reading, with two MSS., *ca* for *na* of the text.
[2] Text applies *śuṣyanta*, "parched" to both "hunger" and "thirst."
[3] *Pariveṭhitvā*, participle from *pariveṭh* Pali = *pariveṣṭ*. On p. 254 (text) we have both *pariveṣṭayitvā* and *sampariveṭhita*.
[4] *Ākāleyam*, from *kal*, "impel", "incite", "urge".
[5] *Parisakkanta*, from Pali *sakkati* (= *ṣvaṣk*), "to go."
[6] *Vatica Robusta W. and A.*
[7] *Terminalia Bellerica.*
[8] See Vol. I, p. 186, *n.* 2.
[9] A kind of flowering tree. Cf. *mucilindaka*, p. 58, *n.* 6.
[10] *Pandanus Odoratissimus.*

standing still. Here is a tree that moves. It cannot be a real tree ; there must be something else here.

Then, monks, that fowler, tormented by the hot winds in the last month of summer, exhausted, broken and crushed, on that occasion spoke this verse :—

This is an old partridge[1] *that has come here after breaking out of its cage. He is wise to snares, goes his way*[2] *and speaks like a man.*

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the master of the flock of birds, that persuasive[3] and sagacious bird, was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the master of the flock of birds, that persuasive and sagacious bird. You will think that the fowler was somebody else. You must not think so. Wicked Māra here, monks, at that time and on that occasion (255) was that fowler. Then also did he set snares and nets for me, lay his bait, and follow closely on my heels for a long time, aiming at and seeking an opportunity to tempt me, and not getting one, retire in disgust. And then, too, when I for six years was practising austerities in the forest of penance did he follow closely on my heels, aiming at and seeking an opportunity to tempt me, and not getting one, retire in disgust."

Here ends the Śakuntaka-Jātaka.

SURŪPA-JĀTAKA[4]

The monks said to the Exalted One, "For the sake of a wise saying[5] the Exalted One sacrificed flesh and blood." The

[1] *Tittirika*. *J.* 2. 162, has *kappara*, "jungle-cock," but *J. trans.* does not bring out the point of this stanza clearly.

[2] Read *apakramati*, as in *J.*, for *apakramanti*.

[3] Literally, "drawing" (*i.e.* others after him), *parikaḍḍhaka*, from *kṛiṣ*, "to drag," cf. *kaḍḍhati*, p. 72, *n.* 1.

[4] Not in *J.* Note that the "occasion" of this story is not given. The main incident of the story has appeared in Vol. 1, p. 75, in a list of examples of self-sacrifice displayed by Bodhisattvas.

[5] *Subhāṣitam.* Cf. *subhāṣitā gāthā*, Vol. 1, p. 72, *n.* 2.

Exalted One replied, "That was not the first time that I sacrificed flesh and blood for the sake of a wise saying, I did so on another occasion." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, there lived in the Himalayas a deer named Surūpa. He was lovely, charming and comely, having red hoofs and antlers, jet-black eyes and dappled[1] body. He was in charge of a herd of deer, being clever, intelligent and fortified by the root of virtue and by merit.[2] Through the deer's accumulation of merit the whole herd of deer lived in comfort there in the Himalayas, feeding on food of all kinds and drinking cool water, without fear or terror. Being blessed with a good leader, they could not be harmed by man or by wild beast. In cold weather the deer led his herd to the warm regions, and in hot weather to the cool. He was beloved of devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, (**256**), Kinnaras, spirits of the woodland, wild beasts and other creatures.

But, monks, Śakra, lord of the devas, in order to test the deer, disguised himself as a hunter, went to the place where the king of the deer was and said to him, "I have a verse of a wise saying. If you give yourself up, then you shall hear the verse." When he heard the hunter's words the king of the deer was gladdened, and he said to himself, "If in return for this perishable state[3] I can hear a wise saying, I shall have received a great benefit." And to the hunter the king of deer said, "For the sake of that wise saying, I give myself up. Let me hear it quickly and without delay." Śakra, lord of devas, was pleased at the deep respect for dharma shown by the king of the deer, and he said to him, "The mire and dust on the feet of good men like these[4] is better than a mountain of gold. For the mire and dust on the feet of good men conduces to the decrease of sorrow, a mountain of gold to

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[1] *Citra-upacitra*, "bright and brightish" or "dappled and dappled-ish." But *upacitra* does not seem to be found elsewhere.

[2] *Sukuśalamūlapuṇya-upastabdha.*

[3] *Vināśadharmeṇa.*

[4] *Evaṃrūpāṇāṃ eva satpuruṣāṇām*, referring, no doubt, to Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Senart compares the Pali use of *tādi*, synonymous with *evaṃrūpa*, as an epithet of Buddha and, sometimes, of arhans. But it is doubtful whether, as Senart suggests, there is any significant connexion between this epithet and *Tathāgata*.

the increase of it." Then Śakra, after he had thus tested the king of the deer vanished out of sight.

A hunter said to a deer named Surūpa, "I have a verse of a wise saying. Give me your flesh and you shall hear me say it."

[The deer replied :]

If in return for this perishable flesh of mine I can hear a wise saying, I give you my flesh. Quickly speak this wise saying.

The hunter replied :

The dust on the feet of good men is better than a mountain of gold. That dust decreases sorrow ; that mountain increases it.[1]

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks that you will think that at that time and on that occasion, the lord of the herd of deer in the Himalayas, the persuasive and righteous deer, named Surūpa, was somebody else. (257) You must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the lord of the herd of deer in the Himalayas, the persuasive and righteous deer named Surūpa. Then did I for the sake of a wise saying give up flesh and blood, just as I have done now.[2]

Here ends the Jātaka of Surūpa, king of the deer.

THE FIRST AVALOKITA-SŪTRA[3]

Thus have I heard. On one occasion the Exalted One was staying at Rājagṛiha on Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa[4] with a great

[1] Cf. Vol. 1, p. 75.

[2] As stated in *n.* 4, p. 240, this "occasion" is not given.

[3] This *sūtra* is given in two parts, here and pp. 293 ff. (text). Senart suggests that they are interpolations in the text, for they obviously break the continuity of the subject-matter. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, 2, p. 245 (footnote) agrees with Senart, and calls attention to the fact that the *sūtra*, under the title of *Avalokana-Sūtra*, is cited in Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-Samuccaya* as an independent work. It is also found in Tibetan as an independent work. In short, its presence in our text is due to a late interpolation of Mahāyānist matter in the *Mahāvastu*.

[4] See Vol. 1, p. 29, *n.* 2. Here and on p. 203 (text) the name is spelt *Gṛiddhakūṭa*.

company of five hundred monks. Once when the night was well advanced[1] the devas Nanda, Sunanda, Sumanas, Īśvara, Maheśvara[2] and many others of the Śuddhāvāsa devas, of surpassing beauty, irradiating the whole of Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa with their splendour, came to the Exalted One. They bowed their heads at his feet and then stood to one side, respectful and deferential,[3] with their robes arranged over one shoulder and joined hands outstretched, thus doing homage to the Exalted One.

To the deva Nanda, thus standing on one side, came this mental reflexion: "Well would it be if the Exalted One should now give his monks the discourse[4] called *Avalokita*, which was given of yore by former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas. Having heard and received it from the lips of the Exalted One, they would hold it for truth. This would be for the benefit and welfare of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the benefit and welfare of devas and men.

The Exalted One in silence consented.[5] Then the devas Nanda, Sunanda, Sumanas, (258) Īśvara and Maheśvara, seeing the silent consent of the Exalted One, bowed their heads at his feet, went round him three times by the right, and disappeared.

Then when the night was past the Exalted One came to his company of monks and sat down on his own especial seat. And when he was seated he spoke to his monks, saying, "Last night, monks, the devas Nanda, Sunanda, Sumanas, Īśvara and Maheśvara, of surpassing beauty, came to the Tathāgata when the night was far spent, irradiating the whole of Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa with their splendour. They bowed their heads at his feet, stood to one side, respectful and deferential, with their robes

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[1] Senart prints *atikrāntāye rātrīye*, on the authority of the MSS., but in a note says that the right reading should be *abhikrāntāye*. This is borne out by Pali texts where the whole expression several times recurs, *e.g. M.* 1. 142, *abhikkantāya rattiyā abhikkantavaṇṇā, etc.*, an expression which illustrates two of the four senses which tradition gave to the word. (See *P.E.D.*)

[2] Only one of these names appears in the Pali texts, *viz.* Nanda at *S.* 1. 62, but the occasion is not identical, and there is no reason to think that the same deva is referred to in the two passages. For Maheśvara, see Vol. 1, pp. 178, 218, 220.

[3] *Sapratīsa*, see Vol. 1, p. 137, *n.* 1.

[4] *Vyākaraṇa*, Pali *veyyākaraṇa*, "answer, explanation, exposition," *etc.*

[5] *Adhivāseti*, Pali; BSk. *adhivāsayati.*

arranged over one shoulder, thus doing homage to the Tathāgata. And, monks, while the deva Nanda thus stood on one side, this mental reflexion occurred to him, 'This[1] discourse called *Avalokita* was given of yore by former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas.'

"Then, monks, the deva Nanda said to the Tathāgata, 'Lord, this discourse called *Avalokita* was given of yore by former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas. Well would it be if the Exalted One also now gave it to the monks. For the monks, hearing it from the lips of the Exalted One, would hold it for truth. This would be for the benefit and welfare of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, and for the benefit and well-being of devas and men.'

"Out of pity, monks, the Tathāgata silently intimated his consent to the deva Nanda. Then, monks, when the devas Nanda, Sunanda, Sumanas, Īśvara and Maheśvara saw the Tathāgata silently consenting, they were thrilled, joyful, elated, delighted, glad and happy. (259). They bowed their heads at his feet, went round him three times by the right, and then disappeared."

Thereupon the monks said to the Exalted One, "Well would it be if the Exalted One related this matter to the monks, who, hearing it and receiving it from his lips, would hold it for truth."

When this had been said, the Exalted One spoke to his monks, saying, "Listen, monks, to the discourse which is called *Avalokita*. Listen well, be attentive, and I shall tell it." "Very well," said the monks, in obedience[2] to the Exalted One. Then the Exalted One said to his monks :—

Monks, when the Bodhisattva standing on this shore surveys[3] the shore beyond, the antecedent conditions of the survey being actually present,[4] devas who have great power[5] worship the Tathāgata with the highest worship and honour him with the highest honour. And the Śuddhāvāsa devas acquire the eighteen

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[1] Note *ayam* with neuter *vyākaraṇa*, and so below.
[2] Note *pratyaśroṣīt* with pl. subject.
[3] *Abhiviloketi*, hence, presumably, the name *Avalokita* for the discourse. See p. 274, *n*. 7.
[4] *Abhivilokanāpūrvāngamehi dharmehi samudāgacchamānehi.*
[5] *Maheśākhyā devā*, cf. *mahesakkhā devatā*, *V*. 1. 228, *Ud*. 88, *D*. 2. 87.

grounds for rejoicing.[1] What eighteen? The Śuddhāvāsa devas get a ground for rejoicing in that the Great Recluse has knowledge of his associations in his former lives.[2] They get grounds for rejoicing in that he has knowledge of his former births;[3] in that he attains excellence and pre-eminence in the world; in that he has the suitable birth,[4] the lovely birth, the foremost birth, the best birth, the highest birth, the birth consequent on his former vow;[5] in that he has reliance, a support and stay,[6] and the necessary conditions;[7] in that the Recluse will teach the changeless dharma, the dharma of the way out,[8] the transcendental dharma, the unique, the beneficiently glorious,[9] the profound[10] and clear dharma, the dharma that in all respects is perfect and pure. These are the grounds for rejoicing that the Śuddhāvāsa devas have.

When, monks, the Bodhisattva from this shore (**260**) surveys the shore beyond, the antecedent conditions of the survey being actually present, devas who have great power worship the Tathāgata with the highest worship and honour him with the highest honour, while the Śuddhāvāsa devas get these eighteen grounds for rejoicing. And the devas of Indra, of Brahmā and of Prajāpati[11] get a great ground for rejoicing.

Now, monks, as long as the Bodhisattvas are not yet endowed with perfect steadfastness of deed, speech and thought, as long as they are not endowed with all attributes, so long, monks,

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[1] *Aṣṭādaśa āmodanīyāṃ dharmān.* There is no mention elsewhere of these particular eighteen *dharmas*.

[2] Literally, "is gifted with a former association," *pūrvayogasampanna. Pūrvayoga* properly means "association with someone or something in a former existence. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 267 (p. 222 trans.), *Tathāgatasya pūrvayoga.* But it is also used for "former existence" simply, while *Miln.* 2 explains it as *pubbakamma.* Here, however, the context requires that it be given the meaning of "knowledge (or memory) of associations in former lives."

[3] *Pūrvotpādasampanna,* literally "endowed with former births," but the implication is that he has "knowledge" of them. *Utpāda,* "arising," in these expressions, denotes "karmic" birth, of course, not birth simply.

[4] Reading, as Senart suggests, *yugya°* = *yogya-utpāda* for *yoga°*.

[5] *Praṇidhipūrvotpāda.*

[6] *Niśrayasampanna, upadhāna, upastambha.* Whatever be their precise significance, these terms would seem to allude to the inward, individual and independent resources of the Buddha's character.

[7] *Sambhāra, i.e.* the conditions for attaining enlightenment. Cf. *J.* 1. 1, *bodhisambhāra.*

[8] *Nairyāṇika, i.e.* "the way out from *saṃsāra,* 'rebirth'." Cf. p. 261, *n.* 5, and cf. *S.* 1. 220; 5. 380.

[9] *Avyāvadhyayaśa.* For *avyāvadhya,* see p. 261, *n.* 7.

[10] *Gambhīra,* cf. *V.* 1. 4; *S.* 1. 136; *D.* 2. 36; *M.* 1. 167, *etc.*

[11] Pali Pajāpati, one of the kings of the devas, apparently ranking second to Śakra (Indra).

do Bodhisattvas fail to go to[1] or stand or sit in that spot of earth, where, when they have settled in it, they overthrow the great Yakṣa,[2] overcome his great host,[3] cross the great flood, and achieve incomparable control over tameable men;[4] incomparable supremacy in the world; incomparable blessing; incomparable worthiness to receive gifts;[5] unequalled consistency of words and deeds;[6] unequalled endurance;[7] unequalled good fortune; the idea[8] of the great castes; the idea of the castes of all creatures; the idea[9] of the origin of the great births;[10] the idea of the origin of the births of all creatures; relief from the burden of existence;[11] the discharge of duty; a state of heart like the earth,[12] **(261)** water, fire and air; a state of heart like catskin,[13] like the soft *kācilinda*;[14] a state of

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[1] *Niśrāya*, postposition with acc. See Vol. 1, p. 114, *n*. 1.

[2] *I.e.* Māra.

[3] *Camu* = *camū*, in its third meaning as given in *BR*. For another meaning, see p. 167, *n*. 2.

[4] Literally, "the drivership of tameable men," *puruṣadamyasārathitā*, the abstract of *puruṣadamyasārathin*.

[5] *Dakṣiṇeyatā*, abstract of *dakṣiṇīya* (Pali *dakkhiṇeyya*). See Vol. 1, p. 61, *n*. 3.

[6] *Yathākāritatathāvādita*, cf. *yathāvādī Tathāgato tathākārī*, etc., *D*. 3. 135; *A*. 2. 24; *It*. p. 121.

[7] Reading *asamadhuratā* for *asamamadhuratā*, "unequalled sweetness." Cf. Pali *asamadhura* (*P.E.D., s.v.*).

[8] Or, "(object of) perception," *ārambana* (*ārambaṇa* next page), Pali *ārammaṇa*. Senart decides in favour of this form, although in Vol. 1 (see p. 94, *n*. 5) he was content with indicating the influence of the Pali form by merely printing *ṇ* for *n*. The MSS. vary between *āl*- and *ār*-. (Miss I. B. Horner, in a note to the translator suggests that *ārambana* here is possibly synonymous with *ālambana* in the sense of some kind of yogic exercise, and that some sort of superconscious knowledge is implied, akin, perhaps, to deva sight.)

[9] This has obviously to be supplied in translation. In the repetition on p. 262 (text) *ārambaṇa* actually appears in the text, although it is not easily construed there.

[10] Possibly referring to the births described at *V*. 4. 6 as *ukkaṭṭhājāti, khattiyājāti, brahmaṇājāti*.

[11] *Ohitabhāratā*, "the laid-down burden," cf. Pali *ohitabhāro*, of an Arhan. Cf. also *bhāranikkhepana* at *S*. 3. 25 and *pannabhāra* at *A*. 3. 85.

[12] *Pṛithivīsamacittatā*, *i.e.* firm like the solid earth. Cf. *M*. 1. 127, *paṭhavīsamena cetasā*. The appropriate adjective in each of these similes. corresponding to "firm" here can be easily supplied in thought.

[13] Reading *virāḍabhasta* (*bhasta* Pali for *bhastrā*) or *virāḍabhastrā*, "a bag of catskin" for *virāḍatrasta*, "frightened by a cat"! To interpret the text reading Senart assumes that there is an allusion to some fable of a mouse and a cat, as e.g. the fourth fable in *Hitopadeśa* 2, and that the immobility of the recluse's state of heart is compared to that of a mouse frightened by a cat. But it would be a strange simile which left out the crucial word "mouse." For the softness of catkin in similes see *Thag*. 1138, *taṃ karissāmi yathā bilārabhastam*. Cf. *M*. 1. 128. In the repetition the text has *viḷāratrastastambha*, where *stambha* seems to support Senart's interpretation, but there is no certainty that his reading of the MSS. is correct here.

[14] A certain soft substance or material.

heart like Indra's column; accomplishment of faculties, of strength, of endurance, of wealth, of rest,[1] of courage;[2] confidence in deed, speech and thought, and in affairs in general; the accomplishment of wisdom, and, finally, they achieve the perfect mastery of all good qualities.

And, monks, from the moment that Bodhisattvas become completely endowed with complete steadfastness of deed, speech and thought, they go to that spot of earth where they settle down and destroy the great Yakṣa, overthrow his great host, cross the great flood, attain incomparable control over tameable men; incomparable pre-eminence in the world; incomparable blessing in the world; incomparable worthiness to receive gifts; incomparable perfect enlightenment; consistency of words and deeds and of deeds and words; unequalled endurance; unequalled good fortune; the idea of the great castes; the idea of the castes of all creatures; the idea of the origin of the great births; a state of heart like the earth (262), water, fire and air; the idea of the origin of the births of all creatures;[3] relief from the burden of existence; discharge of their duty; a state of heart like catskin, like the soft *kācilinda*; a state of heart like Indra's column; accomplishment of the faculties, of strength, of endurance, of wealth, of rest and of courage; confidence in deed, speech and thought and in affairs in general; the accomplishment of wisdom, and, finally, they achieve the perfect mastery[4] of all good qualities. That spot of earth, monks, where Bodhisattvas sit down and destroy the great Yakṣa, *etc.*[5], has sixteen characteristics. What sixteen? At the end of the world[6] that spot of earth is the first of all to be burnt. At the beginning of a new world[7] that spot of earth is the first of all to be established and stands there conspicuous in the centre. That spot of earth, monks, is not situated in outer barbarian provinces, but in central provinces inhabited by Āryans. (263) That spot of earth, monks, is even, with good, not bad conformation, and level like the palm of the

[1] Literally, "bed," *śayyā*.
[2] *Ātmavṛiṣabhitā*, "bull-selfness."
[3] The sequence of these expressions is not so logical as on the previous page.
[4] *Vaśitāpa* (*sic*) here for *vaśibhāva* in the same phrase above.
[5] Senart does not print the repetitions here and in the sequel.
[6] *Saṃvartamāne loke.* See Vol. 1, p. 43, *n.* 3.
[7] *Vivartamāne loke.* See *ibid.*

hand. In its pools grow bright lotuses of various colours.[1] That spot of earth, monks, is renowned, remarkable, and resorted to by powerful people. It is impregnable and invincible. Again, monks, in that spot of earth there is no one like wicked Māra or any of his minions going about looking for a chance to tempt people. It is favoured by devas.[2] That spot of earth, monks, becomes spoken of as a throne in the circle of the earth. It is like a diamond. Grasses grow in that spot of earth which are four inches broad, are dark-blue and soft, like a peacock's neck, pendulous[3] and curling. And, monks, all who are universal kings decide upon that place and no other for a monument.[4]

Thus then, monks, that spot of earth in which Bodhisattvas settle and destroy the great Yakṣa, *etc.*, has sixteen characteristics.

Then, monks, when the Bodhisattva had done with practising austerities at Uruvilvā and had taken a drink of mead from Sujātā, the village overseer's daughter, he came to the river Nairañjanā. On the banks of the river Nairañjanā he cooled his limbs and drank the mead given him by Sujātā, the village overseer's daughter. (264) He let the copper vessel[5] be carried away by the river, and then he prepared there a place of rest by day, and began to reflect on his course of action.[6]

Then, monks, at night, towards daybreak,[7] the Bodhisattva went to the river Nairanjanā. Having cooled his limbs in the river Nairanjanā, he set out for the *bodhi*-tree. On his way between the river Nairanjanā and the *bodhi*-tree the Bodisattva,

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[1] The text names them.

[2] The text has *devānāṃ agrihīto*, "not seized by devas." *Agṛhīto* obviously does not make sense and requires emendation into *anugṛihito* or *sangṛihīto*.

[3] *Abhilakṣana* of the text is inexplicable. The translation assumes that it is a mistake for some compound of *lambana*, e.g. *abhi-* or *pralambana*.

[4] *Tam pṛithivīpradeśaṃ adhisthihanti nānyatra cetiyārtham.* But Senart's interpretation is different: "ne se reposent pas en ce lieu si ce n'est pour venir l'adorer."

[5] In *J.* I. 70 *ff.*, the vessel was carried up-stream and this was interpreted by the Bodhisattva as a sign that he would attain enlightenment that day. The story goes on to say that the vessel sank into the palace of the Nāga king Mahākāla (see below), where it struck against the vessels which had been used by the three former Buddhas, thus announcing to the Nāga king that a new Buddha had arisen.

[6] *Smṛitiṃ pratilabhate nītiye*, for *netiye* of the text; so Senart. Literally "he got mindfulness of conduct," but this is not the usual sense of *nīti*.

[7] *Nāganandīkālasamaye.* See p. 126, *n.* 8.

the Great Being, saw Svastika Yāvasika[1] carrying a bundle of straw as a gift.[2] The Bodhisattva, monks, approached Svastika Yāvasika and asked for the straw. And Svastika gave the straw to the Bodhisattva.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, carrying the bundle of straw, went on towards the *bodhi*-tree, and wicked Māra did not see him go. But immediately afterwards, monks, remembrance came to wicked Māra,[3] And when it did so, he saw the Bodhisattva pushing on[4] fearlessly valiant, nobly valiant, irresistibly valiant; with the valour of a Nāga, of a lion, of a bull, of a swan; valiant in his supreme, most excellent, best and fitting birth; valiant in virtue of the former birth in which he had made his vow; with the valour of one who is invincible, of a sterling man,[5] of a Great Man; pushing on to work without ceasing in the pursuit of the welfare of others, to triumph in the great fight, and to acquire unsurpassed immortality.

Then, monks, as the Bodhisattva pushed on, great and valiant, five hundred peacocks moved round him on his right as he went, and five hundred woodpeckers, five hundred herons, (265) five hundred pheasants, five hundred cranes, five hundred full water-jars, and five hundred maidens. And, monks, this thought occurred to the Bodhisattva: "By these portents[6] and omens[7] I am destined to attain the unimpeded, incomparable enlightenment." The Nāga king, Kāla,[8] monks, saw the Bodhisattva pushing on fearlessly and valiantly, and seeing him said to him, "Go on, Great Recluse. Along the way thou goest did the Exalted One, the Great Recluse Krakucchanda go, and he awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. O Great Recluse, do thou also go this way and thou shalt to-day awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. The Exalted One, the Great Recluse Konākamuni also

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[1] See p. 126, *n.* 9.
[2] *Lancaka*, see Vol. 1, p. 90, *n.* 3.
[3] *I.e.*, he remembered that the Bodhisattva was intending to go on to the *bodhi* tree.
[4] *Vikramantam*. *Vikramati* has the double sense of "advancing," and of "making an effort." Hence the adj. *vikrānta* (Pali *vikkanta*) "heroic," "valiant," with which it is coupled in this passage.
[5] *Ājāneya*. See Vol. 1, p. 185, *n.* 4.
[6] *Pūrvotpāda*, "previous appearances," and so in a different sense from *pūrvotpāda*, "former birth" elsewhere in this passage.
[7] *Pūrvanimitta*.
[8] Mahākāla in *J.* 1. 70, 72. See also *Mhvs.* xxxi. 83, and *Divy.* 392.

went this way, and he awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. O Great Recluse, do thou also go this way, and thou, too, shalt to-day awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. The Exalted One, the Great Recluse Kāśyapa also went this way, and he awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. O Great Recluse, do thou, too, go this way, and thou shalt to-day awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment."

When this had been said, monks, the Bodhisattva said to Kāla, the Nāga king, "Thus, O Kāla, thus O Nāga, will I to-day awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment." **(266)** Then, monks, Kāla, the Nāga king, addressed the Bodhisattva as he went, in appropriate and fitting[1] verses.

As Krakucchanda went, and Konākamuni and Kāśyapa, so goest thou, mighty hero; this day thou wilt become Buddha.

O Man Supreme, from the way thou raisest thy right foot, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

From the way the earth resounds like a beaten vessel of brass, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

From the way my world of jet-black night is filled with radiance, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

From the way my place of rest is filled with splendour, O wise one, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

From the way the winds blow and the trees sway and the birds warble, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

Such is the appearance of Buddhas, such are the bright circumstances of enlightenment;[2] *without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.*

From the way the earth's surface[3] *is covered with flowers, O wise one, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha. As*[4] *five hundred peacocks greeted thee from*

[1] *Sārūpya* BSk., Pali *sāruppa*.
[2] Literally, "adorned enlightenment," *bodhi alaṃkṛitā*.
[3] *Maṇḍa*, printed with a question mark. The metre does not permit of *maṇḍala*, unless the *ca* is dropped.
[4] *Yathā*. In the preceding verses this has been rendered "from the way that," because no previous allusion has been made to these particular portents.

the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As five hundred woodpeckers greeted thee from the right, (267) *without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.*

As five hundred pheasants greeted thee from the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As five hundred herons greeted thee from the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As five hundred swans greeted thee from the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As five hundred cranes greeted thee from the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As five hundred full jars of water greeted thee from the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As five hundred maidens greeted thee from the right, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

As the two-and-thirty marks of a Great Man are found on thy body, without a doubt, mighty hero, this day thou wilt become Buddha.

Thus, monks, the Bodhisattva pushed on fearlessly valiant, nobly valiant, sincerely[1] valiant, irresistibly valiant; with the valour of a lion, of an elephant, of a bull, of a swan; valiant in his supreme, most excellent, and best birth;[2] valiant in virtue of his former birth in which he had made his vow;[3] valiant in his fitting birth; pushing on to subdue his foes,[4] and to win invincibility; with the valour of a sterling man, of a Great Man, to work without ceasing in the pursuit of the welfare of others, (268) to conquer in the great fight[5] and to

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[1] *Alīna*, cf. Pali *alīnatā*, "open-mindedness," "prudence," "sincerity."

[2] *Agrotpādāya*, etc. It is difficult to explain this dative case. Probably the form is to be taken as a Pali-Prakrit oblique case used adverbially. Note that one MS. has the ablative °*utpādā*, "because of," which may equally well be rendered "in."

[3] Text here has *pūrvotpādavikrānta* only, "valiant in his former birth," but *praṇidhi* has been assumed as omitted or as to be understood, as in the parallel passages above.

[4] *Śatrudamanārthāya vikramanto*, corresponding to *śatrumathanavikrāntam vikramantam* above. There is a similar variation in the next phrase.

[5] *Mahāyagrāmavijasamāye* (*sic*) for *mahasaṃgrāma*° as on p. 264 (text) and also in one MS. here.

acquire unsurpassed immortality. Pushing on thus greatly valiant, he came to the *bodhi*-tree. He made his bed of straw neatly in front of the *bodhi*-tree. Then he went round the *bodhi*-tree three times by the right, in memory of the former Buddhas.[1] Afterwards he sat down with his legs crossed, holding his trunk erect and facing directly to the east, and set up mindfulness before his face.[2]

Again, monks, as soon as the Bodhisattva was seated he conceived five thoughts. What five ? The thought of peace, of well-being, of purity and beneficence, and the thought that that day he would awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. As soon then, monks, as the Bodhisattva was seated he conceived these five thoughts.

Then, monks, wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him, went up to the *bodhi*-tree, and, standing before the Bodhisattva, at one time sang his loud song and at another[3] waved his garment.[4] The Bodhisattva paid no heed.

Then, monks, wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him, leapt[5] towards the Bodhisattva and laughed his ten-fold laugh of derision.[6] And how, monks, did wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him, laugh his ten-fold laugh of derision ? By saying, " O Great Recluse, I have great magic and great power, thou wilt not, Recluse, escape from me.[7] (269) I have great majesty, Recluse, thou wilt not escape from me. I have great splendour, Recluse, thou wilt not escape from me. I am a mighty bull, Recluse, thou wilt not escape from me. I am a great conqueror, Recluse, thou wilt not escape from me. I have a great army, Recluse, thou wilt not escape from me. I have great strength, Recluse, thou wilt not escape from me. Thou art a human

[1] *I.e.* the three former ones of the *kalpa*, Krakucchanda, Konākamuni, and Kāśyapa.

[2] See p. 127, *n.* 2.

[3] *Viya . . . viya*, properly Pali = *iva*, can only have this force here, *i.e.* now . . . now.

[4] Literally, " held out a great waving of his garment," *mahācailākṣepaṃ prayacche*. Cf. Pali *cela-ukkhepa*, " waving of garments " (as signs of applause). Senart, however, in his *Introduction* renders the phrase by " agite la grande écharpe."

[5] *Saṃkṣūyamāno*. This form is too persistent in the MSS. to allow of any other reading being conjectured. Senart explains the *kṣu* as ' une fausse restitution pour *skū* (or *sku*)," possibly influenced by the intensive *coṣkūyate*.

[6] This is the force of the prefix *ū*- (= *ud* or *ava*) in *ūhase*. Cf. Pali *ūhasati*.

[7] The text repeats after each statement, " wicked Māra . . . derision."

being, Recluse, while I am a deva; thou wilt not escape from me. A recluse's body is born of a mother and father, is a heap of boiled rice and sour milk, is subject to rubbing, massaging, sleep, dissolution, disintegration and destruction;[1] while my body, Recluse, is made of mind. Thou wilt not, Recluse, escape from me." In this way, monks, did wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him, laugh his ten-fold laugh of derision.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, without a tremor, roared at wicked Māra fourteen times. **(270)** And it was in this way that the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, without a tremor, roared at wicked Māra. "Now then, wicked Māra, I will strike thee down. As a strong wrestler a weak one, so will I strike thee down, wicked one. As a strong bull a weak one, so will I crush thee, wicked one. As an elephant a feeble antelope, so will I strike thee down, wicked one. As a strong wind a frail tree, so will I strike thee down, wicked one. As the rising sun overcomes all the fire-flies, so will I overcome thee, wicked one. As the rising moon overcomes all the stars, so will I overcome thee, wicked one. As Himalaya, monarch of mountains, towers for ever over all mountains, so will I tower over thee, wicked one. As the universal king Pṛithu[2] vanquished the regional kings, so will I vanquish thee, wicked one. As a fine thoroughbred horse terrifies a whole herd of horses, so will I terrify thee, wicked one. As a lion, king of beasts, rends all meaner animals, so will I rend thy snare of folly. As a strong man (breaks) a weak snare, so will I burn thy snare of folly, wicked one. As fire fuel, so will I reduce thee to cinders, wicked one. As I am bound to this issue,[3] so will I overcome thee, wicked one. As I am tied to this purpose, so will I triumph over thee, wicked one, bind, terrify, conquer and overcome thee. And then there will be no longer a sphere of life of life for thee, O wicked one."

Thus, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, without a tremor, roar at wicked Māra fourteen times.

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[1] This is a stock description of the physical body, see e.g. *D.* 1. 76, *M.* 1. 500. *Vidhvaṃsana*, "destruction," BSk. = Pali *viddhaṃsana*. Cf. *vidhvaṃsita*, Vol. 1, p. 10, *n.* 3.

[2] Or *Pṛithī*. Vedic patronymic. First anointed sovereign of men, introduced arts of husbandry; enumerated among the Riṣis, and said to be the author of *Rig-Veda* x. 148.

[3] *Niṣyandasaṃyukta*. Cf. Pali *nissanda*.

ANANGAṆA-JĀTAKA[1]

(271) The monks asked the Exalted One, "See, Lord, how the house of the householder Jyotiska[2] is blessed with such prosperity, while his wealth is out of the common. He is honoured and illustrious. He has been admitted into the Order and ordained, and has won freedom from the lusts. Lord, of what deed on the part of the householder Jyotiska is this the fruit ?" The Exalted One replied :—

Once upon a time, monks, ninety-one *kalpas* ago,[3] there was a king named Bandhuma.[4] And, monks, the capital city of King Bandhuma was called Bandhumatī. The description of a universal king's city is to be applied to it in detail.

King Bandhuma, monks, had a son named Vipaśyin. Now Vipaśyin was a Bodhisattva, who went to a certain place, going forth as a wanderer from home into the homeless state, and awoke to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.

Once King Bandhuma sent a message to the exalted Vipaśyin, saying, "Come, Lord, to thy native place, out of pity for me." Then, monks, the exalted Vipaśyin, on receiving the message, came to his native place accompanied by sixty-eight thousand arhans.

Now at that time and on that occasion there was in the capital city of Bandhumatī a merchant, named Anangaṇa, who was rich and wealthy, with plentiful means for a luxurious life.[5] Somehow or other[6] the householder Anangaṇa heard that the exalted Vipaśyin was coming with sixty-eight thousand arhans. And the thought occurred to him : "What now if I were to be the first of all to go and bow at the feet of the Exalted One ?" So Anangaṇa the householder, in a great

[1] There is no apparent reason for the introduction of this story here. It is not to be found in *J.*, but the history of Jyotiṣka (see below) is given in *Divy.* (p. 273 ff.), where his wealth, prosperity and piety are described in detail, and, as here, lead the monks to ask the Buddha what deed Jyotiṣka had performed in a former life to merit such good fortune. The reply, as here, is the recital of this Jātaka.

[2] Pali *Jotika* or *Jotiya*. The story of Jotika is mainly post-canonical (chiefly in *DhA*. See *D.P.N.* for references).

[3] *Ekanavatime kalpe*. Cf. *D.* 2. 2.

[4] *I.e.* the father of the Buddha Vipaśyin.

[5] *Prabhūtacitropakaraṇa.*

[6] ? *evaṃ ca-evaṃ.*

hurry, hastened to meet the Exalted One and bow at his feet.

Anangaṇa the householder saw the Exalted One coming when he was still some way off, gracious *and so on up to*[1] attended by his company of monks. (272) Then Anangaṇa the householder approached the Exalted One *and so on up to* and said to the Exalted One, " Consent, Lord, to be entertained by me for three months, thou and thy company of monks," *and so on up to* (and the Exalted One) silently (intimated his consent).

Somehow or other, King Bandhuma also, heard that the exalted Vipaśyin was coming with his great company of monks, sixty-eight thousand arhans, *and so on up to*[1] " adorn the city," *and so on up to* with great royal power, *and so on up to* he saw him, gracious, *and so on up to* he invited him, *and so on up to* " Your majesty, I have accepted the householder Anangaṇa's invitation to be entertained by him for three months, I and my company of monks."

When the king heard this he fretted. " Anangaṇa the householder," said he, " without asking or obtaining permission,[3] without showing me due respect, went to the Exalted One and extended him an invitation. That is not well."

To the Exalted One the king said, " Let the Exalted One eat with me one day, and with him the next." The Exalted One replied, " If Anangaṇa consents, that may be possible."[4] Then the king sent a message to Anangaṇa, *and so on up to* " has come." The king said, " You have reached and come to the end of your term of life, O householder, if you go against the king's pleasure. You invited him without consulting me. You did not know that he who was coming was Vipaśyin, my son. Give up[4] the idea of entertaining for three months the Exalted One and his company of monks." The householder replied, " I did not mean to be disrespectful to your majesty.

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[1] *I.e.*, *Yāvat*, indicating that the words are to be supplied from stereotyped passages.

[2] Lacuna for *yāvat*.

[3] *Anavaloketvā*. *Avaloketi* is taken as equivalent to Pali *apaloketi* which may denote " to ask or obtain permission." See, *e.g.*, *V*. 4. 225 and *VA*. 910, where *anapaloketvā* is explained by *anāpucchā* and *anāpucchitvā*, respectively.

[4] Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter to the translator, remarks that Vipaśyin's refusal to accept the king's invitation after he had been invited by the householder, is in keeping with the regulation at *V*. 3. 66, whereby monks were not allowed to accept lodging (*senāsana*) elsewhere than where they were invited. The same regulation applied to meals, see *V*. 4. 77.

[5] *Osirāhi*. See p. 378, *n*. 1.

Besides, your majesty has more merit than I,[1] and, morever, I invited the Exalted One thinking that I would be doing what your majesty wished."

Then the thought occurred to Bandhuma, "If I say, 'Forbear, householder,' he will not obey me; nor will the exalted Vipaśyin be pleased with me, nor will he accept my invitation." Reflecting thus he said to the householder, "In that case I shall entertain him in turn with you. Let him be my guest one day, and yours the next." Anangaṇa replied, "Very well, **(273)** there is no reason why that should not be managed." And so it was arranged that the entertaining should be done by the king on one day and by Anangaṇa the next.

Now whatever hospitality was given by the king on one day, the householder Anangaṇa invariably improved on it the next. Then King Bandhuma spoke to his prime minister. "Chief," said he, "the resources of Anangaṇa the householder are greater than mine, and thus it is that he succeeds better than I at entertaining. When he sees what the king has done on one day he goes and does better the next. Therefore, chief, something must be done that will hinder[2] him from doing this." But nothing could be done until of the three months only two days were left, the fourteenth day of the month when it was the king's turn to entertain, and the fifteenth when it was the householder's.

Now King Bandhuma had a park, named Munihata, which was large, spacious, cool, fragrant, pleasant and beautiful. On the last day, that is, the fourteenth, he had all this park sprinkled and swept, hung with festoons of bright cloth, fumigated with incense and strewn with heaps of flowers. For each monk a special seat worth a hundred thousand pieces was made from a sandal-wood tree. Four young attendants all decked out in finery fanned each monk with an all-white chowrie fan which had its handle of gold and silver. On one side and in front young maidens, all decked out in finery, compounded ointments from mixtures of scents worth a hundred thousand pieces. Behind, lordly elephants gaily

[1] Literally, "Your majesty has more merit, I (we) have not more," *devo puṇyādhiko vayaṃ nādhiko.*

[2] Literally, "so that there will be a delay," *yathā . . . utkṣepaṃ bhave,* but the reading is suspect, and this sense of *utkṣepa* is not very natural.

caparisoned and covered with a net-work of gold held up pure white sunshades.

The king issued an order that throughout Bandhumatī and for an area of twelve *yojanas* around it no one should sell sticks.[1] "Whoever buys (**274**) or sells them," said he, "see that he is punished. Under this restriction what will the householder do? How will he cook his food under such a restriction?[2] No one must sell *and so on up to* punished, *and so on up to* thus restricted.[3] He will not be able to prepare his curry.[4] Whence can the householder get lovely[5] garden[6] seats, *and so on up to* whence will he get elephants?"

When Anangaṇa the householder heard of this turn of events, his heart pierced by the arrow of chagrin, he entered upon a sea of reflexion, and sat down. Miserably he pondered and reflected, "If in this way I cannot get wood, I still may be able to get sticks. And if I cannot get that much for preparing curry, I shall prepare other fine and exquisite dishes.[7] Still I shall have no park of sandal-wood trees like this nor special seats like these. I shall not have four young men and four young women as attendants. And I shall have no lordly elephants." And so he fretted.

Then because of the power of his merit, Śakra, lord of the devas came and stood before him, saying, "O householder, do not fret. Provide a meal. Get a meal ready. Everything will be forthcoming. I will make special seats. I will construct a fine and decorated pavilion."[8] The householder asked,

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[1] *Śalākā*. On the next page the usual term for firewood, *kāṣṭha* is used.

[2] Reading *kenapi bhaktaṃ pacati evaṃ vārita* for *kenapyabhaktaṃ pacyati avārita*, which even if it could be construed would seem to give a sense contrary to the context.

The next two lines have, as Senart points out, all the appearance of a gloss. Although *yāvad* (see p. 255, *n.* 1.) occurs twice there is no question here of the repetition of stock phrases. The repetition is of what immediately precedes.

[3] Reading *evaṃ vārita* as before.

[4] *Sajjaṃ vyañjanaṃ na bhaviṣyati*, "there will be no condiment (or curry) ready." *Sajjam* is Senart's conjecture for the meaningless *śatam* of the text.

[5] Reading, with Senart, *darśanīyā* for the meaningless *pradarśaka* of the text.

[6] *Udyānakṛita*. For the genitive-adjectival force of the suffix *kṛita* see Vol. 1, p. 295, *n.* 1.

[7] *Vyañjanāni*. For the use of this word in the plural to denote "various dishes," see *MA*. 1. 150. (The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[8] *Maṇḍalamāla*. So in Pali. But Senart, unaware of the Pali form, doubts its correctness and would prefer the *maṇḍavāṭa* or *maṇḍalavāṭa* of *Divy*. 286, 288, if the MS. reading were not so certain.

"Who art thou, sir ?" Śakra replied, "O householder, I am Śakra, lord of the devas."

The householder joyfully cooked his dish over a fire of sandal-wood. He brought a bowl of ghee and sesamum oil, and, taking some out as one takes the grass *bhadramusta*[1] out of water, he prepared the meal.

Śakra, lord of the devas, ordered the deva Viśvakarman,[2] saying, "Present the Exalted One and his company of monks with a great pavilion and excellent seats." "So be it, sire," replied Viśvakarman, *and so on up to* Viśvakarman obeyed.

(275) The deva Viśvakarman constructed by magic[3] a great pavilion and a grove of sixty-eight thousand palm-trees, the leaves, fruits and flowers of which were of silver when the trunk was of gold, *and so on up to*[4] of beryl when the trunk was of ruby *and so on up to* he made special seats for each monk. Four devas all decked out in finery stood on the left and the right of each holding fans of peacocks' tails. Four deva maidens all decked out in finery compounded celestial ointments the scents of which were wafted on the wind. Behind each monk an elephant like Eravaṇa[5] held over each an exquisite sunshade made of the seven precious stones, with its handle of beryl. And the elephant Eravaṇa itself held a sunshade over the Exalted One. The pavilion was covered knee-deep with celestial flowers and gentle breezes blew through it. As the palm grove was stirred by the wind there arose a celestial sound, *and so on up to* they announced to the Exalted One that it was time for the meal, *and so on up to* he entered. The Exalted One sat down, and the householder sent a message to the king, saying, "Come, your majesty. To-day is the last day. Let us wait upon the Sangha together."

The king mounted his fine carriage and set out. When he was still some way off, the king saw an entirely white elephant coming, and when he saw it, he said to himself, "No doubt

[1] Pali *bhaddamuttaka*, "a kind of fragrant grass (Cyperus rotundus)."

[2] The architect and artificer of the Hindu pantheon. For the Buddhist treatment of Hindu gods see Vol. 1, p. 81, *n.* 1, *et al.*

[3] *Abhinirmiṇitvā*. See Vol. 1, p. 141, *n.* 2.

[4] For the full description of these palm trees see Vol. 1, pp. 152 *f.*

[5] Pali Erāvaṇa, Śakra's elephant, and itself a deva. See *D.P.N.* The grammatical concord is strange here—*nāgaṃ eravaṇena sādṛiśāni . . . dhārenti*

the householder has had an elephant made all of white clay." But when he arrived and entered the pavilion and saw such a varied display, he wondered that this marvel had been produced by the power of the householder's merit.

Now a villager[1] happened to be carrying a bowl of curds as an offering. He was asked to sell it for five hundred *purāṇas.* The villager was perplexed when he saw this. . . .[2] (**276**) The villager asked, "What is the meaning of this ?" They replied "The exalted Vipaśyin with sixty-eight thousand arhans is being served with food." The villager reflected : "Rare is the appearance in the world of Tathāgatas *and so on up to* perfect Buddhas. What now if I myself were to wait upon the Buddha and his company of monks with this bowl of curds?" So he waited upon the whole company, asking them for all he desired.[3]

Then King Bandhuma and Anangaṇa the householder waited upon the Exalted One and his company of disciples with all that lavish display. And when the Exalted One had finished eating, washed his hands and put away his bowl, the householder expressed his vow, saying, "As I am one who has such a fullness[4] of merit from self-sacrifice in making meritorious gifts[5] and such a fullness of goodness may I partake of a celestial happiness that is unique,[6] and may I win the favour[7] of such a unique Master. May he teach me the dharma. May I understand it, and, abandoning the world, may I be free of the lusts."

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[1] *Grāmāluka.* Senart refers to *Hemacandra.* 2. 163.

[2] The rest of this passage is left untranslated. It is made up of incipient statements cut short by *yāvad*, that is, it purports to be a summary of some stock passage. But nothing like it has occurred in the *Mhvu.*, and the clues are too slight to enable a parallel passage in Pali texts to be traced. The passage is as follows : *mā tāvad ime* (**276**) (*yāvad*) *arthamākarṣake niścaye* (??) [*yāvat*] *sarvasaṃghe* (*yāvad*) *arthaṃ yācitvā tattakaṃ eva tato rājā bandhumo anangaṇena mānyaparināyakam ayaṃ ca puna : pañca purāṇaśatāni kimetaṃ bhaviṣyati.* The question marks and the brackets are Senart's.

[3] The translation of this sentence is conjectural. The text merely repeats part of the fragmentary passage already alluded to—*sarvasaṃghe yāvad arthaṃ yācitvā tattakaṃ eva.*

[4] Literally, "overflow," *abhisyanda,* BSk. = Pali *abhisanna* = Sk. *abhiṣyanda,* from *syand,* "to flow."

[5] *Deyadharma,* Pali *deyyadhamma.* See Vol. 1, p. 246, *n.* 2.

[6] Reading, as Senart tentatively suggests, *sukhamasādhāraṇam* for *sukhasyādhāraṇam* of the text, an emendation which is supported by the analogous use of *asādhāraṇa* in the very next sentence.

[7] *Ārāgeyyam* from *ārāgayati,* a distortion from Pali *ārādheti* (see *P.E.D.*).

The Exalted One said, "It may be, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the merchant named Anangaṇa was somebody else. You must not think so. This householder Jyotiṣka at that time and on that occasion was the householder named Anangaṇa, *and so on up to* his vow has been entirely successful."[1]

THE FIRST AVALOKITA-SUTRA (*cont.*)

Then wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him made his sixteen great lamentations.[2] And how, monks, did wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him make his sixteen great lamentations? By saying, "Alas, that the Recluse should overcome[3] me[4] who have such great magic power. (**277**) Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great influence. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great majesty. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great splendour. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great courage. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great valour. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great fortitude. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me who have such great strength. Alas, that Gotama the Recluse who is a mere human should overcome me who am a deva. The body of Gotama the Recluse was born of a mother and a father, it depends on his belly, is a heap of boiled rice and sour milk (**278**) and is subject to rubbing, massaging, sleep, dissolution,

[1] It is to be noted that these words *tasya praṇidhi sarvārthasiddhi*: do not occur in the story itself as given above.

[2] Literally, "lamented his great lamentation which was of sixteen kinds," *ṣoḍaśākārasamanvāgataṃ mahāparidevitaṃ parideve*.

[3] *Vata . . . mā . . . abhibhaviṣyati*. The syntax is not clear. *Mā* ordinarily expresses "prohibition" or a "negative wish," sometimes, as here, with the future indicative (see p. 296, *n*. 7). As, however, the clause is meant to express a lamentation a translation like that given seems necessary to the context.

[4] *Aham*, nom. as acc. Senart cites *Hemacandra* 3. 107 for a parallel usage. The succeeding clauses have *me*. The text repeats after each clause "Wicked Māra . . . lamentations."

disintegration and destruction, while my body is made of mind; alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me. All these brave and heroic perfect men do not know how to throw off their mortal coil;[1] alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me. Verily, just as I was thinking that to-day I should overcome Gotama the Recluse, he speedily made an end of all respect for me; alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me. My army collapses; alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me. My limbs fail me; alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me. Vain is my exertion, agitated is my endeavour; alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me. All the devas who were in my domain are now the intimate companions[2] of Gotama the Recluse; alas, that Gotama the Recluse should overcome me."

Thus then, monks, did wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him, make his sixteen great lamentations.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror (279) conceived an Āryan pride for thirty-two reasons.[3] And how, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror conceive an Āryan pride for thirty-two reasons? (By being able to say)[4] "The Bodhisattva aspires after the great good, the perfect good, the sublime good, the pure good, the unchangeable good, the unprecedented good, the good that is a way of escape,[5] the transcendental[6] good, the unique good, the beneficent[7] good, the future good." (By being able to say) "There is no ease which I have not sacrificed to acquire that good, there is no ease in the transcendental world[8] which I have not sacrificed to acquire that good; there is no suffering in the world which

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[1] Literally, "do not know the throwing off of their humanity," *mānuṣyasya parinikṣepaṃ na pi jānanti, i.e.* cannot become devas.

[2] *Abhyantaro parivāro.* For this sense of *abhyantara* Senart compares *Divy.*, 254, 255.

[3] Literally "An Āryan pride of thirty-two kinds," *dvātriṃśatākārasamanvāgataṃ āryamānam.*

[4] Supplied from *iti* understood in most of the clauses, but expressed in a few. After each clause the text repeats "the Bodhisattva . . . pride."

[5] *Nairyāṇikam artham.* See p. 245, *n.* 8.

[6] *Lokottara.* See Vol. 1, p. 3, *n.* 1, *et al.*

[7] *avyāvadhya.* Cf. Pali *avyāpajjha* "[either from a + * *vyāpadya* or more likely from *a* + * *vyābādhya*] free from oppression, not hurting, kind." (*P.E.D.*) The *Mhvu.* form seems to support the latter alternative.

[8] *Lokottaraloke.*

I have not grasped at[1] to acquire that good; there is no pleasure in the world which I have not sacrificed to acquire that good; there is not a beautiful thing[2] in the world which I have not sacrificed to acquire that good; there is no sovereignty in the world which I have not sacrificed to acquire that good." The Bodhisattva conceived an Āryan pride not because of a delight in sensual pleasures, but he did so, saying, "Rid of all the *saṃskāras*[3] I shall attain a state beyond all the *saṃskāras*." The Bodhisattva conceived an Āryan pride because he was endowed with a knowledge of former births,[4] with the excellent birth, (280) with the birth in which he had made his vow;[5] because he was endowed with reliance,[6] behaviour,[7] support, and with the necessary conditions.[8] The Bodhisattva conceived an Āryan pride because he could say, "My resolution is firm, and now possessed of all good qualities I shall not break this resolution as I did of yore. I am stout and steady of heart, and I shall attain that state[9] which can be attained only by the stout and steady of heart. I am the Great Tree,[10] of infinite intelligence, and I shall attain that state which can be attained only by one who is the Great Tree, of infinite intelligence. Again, with the highest degree of energy I shall attain the highest state; for I have the highest degree of energy. I shall

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[1] The MSS. have *sukham . . . upādinnam*, which gives a sense contrary to the context. If *sukham* is retained then *upādinnam* must be replaced by *parityaktam*. But it is more feasible, with Senart, to amend *sukham* into *du:kham*, especially as *sukham* has already been the subject of a clause.

[2] ? *Citrikam* = *citrakam*. Or should this not be emended into *rucira*? The latter, which would have the same meaning, is often found in conjunction with *ramaṇīya* and would follow well here after *ramaṇīyatā* of the preceding clause.

[3] Pali *sankhārā*, see Vol. I, p. 99, *n*. 1.

[4] *Pūrvotpāda*, see p. 245, *n*. 3.

[5] *Praṇidhi*, "vow," simply, but see p. 245, *n*. 5.

[6] Reading *niśraya* for *ni : śraya*. See p. 245, *n*. 6.

[7] *Upacāra*.

[8] *Sambhāra*, see p. 245, *n*. 7.

[9] *Bhūmi*, not necessarily referring here to any particular *bhūmi* or stage in the careers of Bodhisattvas. See Vol. I, pp. 1, 39 *ff*., 53 *ff*.

[10] *Mahādruma*. There does not seem to be any other instance in Buddhist literature of the Buddha calling himself, or being called, the Great Tree. Yet in view of the integral part played by the *bodhi* tree in the account of the enlightenment, the Buddha's symbolical identification with that tree is not wholly inexplicable. According to *MW*., *mahādruma* was actually used as an expression for *ficus religiosa*. The tree of wisdom which holds heaven and earth apart is often mentioned in Vedic and Brahmanical literature, (See Griffiths on *RV*. I. 164), while in Buddhist literature we read of "the tree of knowledge," *jñānadruma* (*Buddhacarita*, xiii. 65). The translator owes these references to Miss I. B. Horner, who also remarks that in iconography the Buddha is often represented by a tree,

reach that state on reaching which I shall do good to the great multitude."

Thus, then, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, conceive an Āryan pride for thirty-two reasons.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror displayed his five-fold Āryan smile. And how, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror display his five-fold Aryan smile? It was as follows, to wit, it was based on will, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. Thus then, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror display his five-fold Āryan smile.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror made the four-fold **(281)** survey of an Āryan great lion. And how, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror make the four-fold survey of an Āryan great lion? As follows, to wit, he surveyed, without agitation, without terror, without fear, without fright. Thus then, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror make the four-fold survey of an Āryan great lion.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror yawned the four-fold yawn of an Āryan great lion. And how, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror yawn the four-fold yawn of an Āryan great lion? As follows, to wit, he yawned without fear, without agitation, without terror, but he did inspire terror in Māra and his host. Thus, then, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, yawn the four-fold yawn of an Āryan great lion.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, coughed the cough of a great lion. And how, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror cough the cough of an Āryan great lion? As follows, to wit, he coughed without fear, without agitation, without terror and without dismay. This then, monks, was the Bodhisattva's cough of an Āryan great lion. All the people in the great system of three thousand worlds heard the noise of it. Thus then, monks, did the Bodhisattva, fearless,

undismayed, without fright and terror, cough his four-fold cough of an Āryan great lion.

Then, monks, wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him (**282**) armed his great four-fold army and advanced to the *bodhi* tree. Standing in front of the Bodhisattva he let out a great shout, a resounding cry.[1] "Seize him," cried he, "take him away, slay him, ye hosts of Māra. May it go well with you." Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, without fear and terror drew out his golden arm from beneath his robe, and with his webbed[2] and jewel-like right hand, which had copper-coloured nails and a bright streak, and which was the colour of lac, was soft like cotton to the touch, and endowed with the root of virtue acquired in several *koṭis* of *kalpas*, he thrice stroked his head; thrice he stroked his couch, and thrice he stroked the ground. And as he did so,[3] this great earth roared and echoed deeply and terribly. Just as, monks, when a great bowl of brass made in Magadha is struck with a slab of rock in a mountain cavern, a deep and terrible noise resounds and re-echoes, so, monks, did this great earth resound and re-echo deeply and terribly, when the Bodhisattva with his right hand stroked his head, his couch and the ground. And Māra's hosts, magnificent and well-armed as they were, were frightened, terrified, shaken, and dismayed; shuddering with terror they scattered and dispersed. Their elephants, their horses, their chariots, their infantry[4] and their chariots collapsed. Some fell on their hands, (**283**) others on their heads,[5] others on their faces,[6] others on their backs, others on their left side, and others on their right side. And wicked Māra, wretched, discomfited, consumed by the sting within him, stood on one side deep in thought, and wrote on the ground with a cane: Gotama the Recluse will pass beyond my power.

[1] Reading *śabda* for *śanda* (sic) of the text.

[2] This rendering of *jālin hasta* is preferable to "net-like" in Vol. I, p. 181, and the characteristic would seem to be reasonably explained by A. K. Coomaraswamy when he says (*I.H.Q.* viii (1931), p. 366) that the meaning is that the Buddha's fingers were so perfectly straight, that, when they were pressed tightly together and held up to the light a rosy light could be seen through them as through a thin web. Possibly this also explains the "bright streak," *sucitrarājika*.

[3] The text, of course, repeats all the statements.

[4] *Padāta* for the more usual *padāti*.

[5] *Omuddhaka*, i.e. *ava* + *muddha*(*ka*), Pali for *mūrdhan*.

[6] *Apakubjaka*, Pali *avakujjaka*.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, entered and abode in the first meditation,[1] which is aloof from sense desires and from sinful and evil ideas, is attended by applied and sustained thought, is born of solitude and is full of zest and ease. Suppressing applied and sustained thought, he entered and abode in the second meditation, which is born of concentration, is full of zest and ease, and is free from applied and sustained thought, through the mind becoming inwardly calm and one-pointed. Indifferent to the fervour of zest he abode mindful and self-possessed,[2] and entered and abode in the third meditation,[3] (and experienced)[4] that ease whereof the Āryans declare, "He that is indifferent and mindful dwells at ease." By putting away ease,[5] by the passing away of all the happiness and misery he formerly felt, he entered and abode in the fourth meditation, which is utter purity of equanimity[6] and mindfulness and is free of ill and ease.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, in the first watch of the night turned and applied his mind to the consideration[7] of the insight and knowledge conferred by the deva eye.[8] By means of the deva eye, which excels the human in clearness, he saw beings passing away and reborn, beings fair and foul, beings passing to bournes of good and to bournes of ill, beings mean and noble, all reaching a state in accordance with their karma. "These beings,

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[1] *Dhyāna.* See Vol. I, pp. 183 *f.*, and notes. The text here is practically identical with that in Vol. I. The few variations are noted as they occur.

[2] As in Vol. I, reading *samprajāno* for *samprajānam.*

[3] *Tṛitīyaṃ dhyānam* only, *i.e.* without *niṣprītikam,* "free of zest," as in Vol. I.

[4] The verb *pratisaṃvedayati* of Vol. I is omitted.

[5] *Du:khasya prahāṇāt,* "putting away ill" is omitted.

[6] Instead of *upekṣā* as in Vol. I, the text here has *upekṣya,* which is apparently a verbal adjective governing *adu:khāsukham, i.e.* 'overlooking' or 'indifferent to' ill and ease. But as one MS. has *upekṣā* it cannot be safely assumed that there is a real difference at this point between the two accounts. *Upekṣā,* therefore, is restored in translation.

[7] *Pratisankhāya,* Senart's restoration for the impossible reading *pratisaṃlāya.* He equates it with Pali *paṭisankhā* and considers it sufficiently close to the *sākṣātkriyāyai* of *Lal. Vist.* 439. At the same time it is worth noting that two MSS. have *pratisaṃlāpa,* which may be a corruption of an original *pratisamlabhāya.* Vol. I, p. 184 (text) has *pratilābhāya,* "to the acquirement of."

[8] See Vol. I, pp. 125 *f.*, and for the whole of the following passage, pp. 184 *f.*

friends," said he, " who are guilty of misconduct in deed, speech and thought, who are slanderers of Āryans and holders of wrong views, because they have contracted the karma of heresy, for that cause and that reason, on the dissolution of the body at death are reborn in the desolate ways, in bournes of ill, in ruin, in hells. On the other hand, friends, (**284**) those of good conduct in deed, speech and thought, who do not slander Āryans, who hold right views, because they have contracted the karma of right views, for that cause and that reason, on the dissolution of the body at death are reborn in heaven among the devas."

Thus with his deva eye, excelling the human eye in clearness, he saw beings passing away and reborn, beings fair and foul, beings mean and noble, all reaching a state in accordance with their karma.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, in the middle watch of the night turned[1] and applied his mind to the memory and knowledge of his former lives. He recalled to mind many different former lives, to wit, one birth, two births, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand. He recalled to mind a *kalpa* of the world's dissolution,[2] a *kalpa* of the world's evolution, a *kalpa* of both dissolution and evolution, indeed several *kalpas* of dissolution, several *kalpas* of evolution, several *kalpas* of both dissolution and evolution. (He remembered thus :) "At such and such a time I was named so and so. I was of such and such an ancestry, belonging to such and such a family. I ate such and such food. I had such and such an end to my life, and I experienced such and such ease and ill." Thus did he recount his different former existences in all their details and particulars.

Then, monks, the Bodhisattva, fearless, undismayed, free from fright and terror, in the last watch of the night,towards daybreak, in the flush of dawn[3] woke up to all that the " true

[1] *Abhinirharati*, Pali *abhinīharati*. For a discussion of this verb see *P.E.D.*, which, however, among the BSk. instances cited, does not refer to the *Mhvu.*, where the verb also occurs at 1. 228 (text).

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 43, *n*. 3.

[3] *Nandīmukhāyāṃ rajanyām*. See Vol. 1, p. 185, *n*. 1.

man,"[1] the "Great Man," the "real man,"[2] the "heroic man," the "brave man," the "elephant man," the "lion-man," the "red-and-white lotus man," the "white-lotus man,"[3] the "noble steed of a man," the "terrible man," the "peerless driver of tameable men," the "intrepid man," the "courageous man," the "valiant man," the "beneficent man" (285), the "ardent man," the "resolute man,"[4] the "secluded man," the Sugata,[5] the "mindful man," the "steady man," the "intelligent man," the "wise man," has always and everywhere to know, attain, become aware of, become fully aware of; he awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment by insight gained in a momentary flash of thought. That is to say [he understood] that this is ill; this is the rise of ill; this is the cessation of ill; this is the way[6] that leads to the cessation of ill. [He understood] that these are the *āśravas*;[7] this is the uprising of the *āśravas*; this is the cessation of the *āśravas*; this is the way that leads to the cessation of the *āśravas*; here the *āśravas* are destroyed without remainder or residue; they are quelled, they fade away and vanish utterly. [He understood] that when this exists, that comes to be; when this does not exist, that does not come to be; from the arising of this, that arises; from the cessation of this, that ceases.[8] [He understood] that as the result[9] of ignorance the *saṃskāras* come to be; as the result of the *saṃskāras*, consciousness;

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[1] These expressions are rendered as literally as possible. Many of them have occurred in the parallel passage in Vol. 1, p. 185 (229, text) where see notes. But in accordance with the generally extravagant style of the *Avalokita-Sūtra* the list is much longer here and is elaborated to the point of being in some cases almost untranslatable.

[2] ? *puruṣadravyeṇa*.

[3] The text has (*puruṣa*)*kumudena* and °*puṇḍarīkena*, but as both denote a white lotus, only one has been translated.

[4] *Prahitātma*, see p. 226, *n*. 1.

[5] *Gatimant*, see Vol. 1, p. 185, *n*. 5.

[6] *Pratipad* BSk. = Pali *paṭipadā*.

[7] See Vol. 1, p. 49, *n*. 2.

[8] This is a general statement of the working of cause and effect, the particular application of which to Buddhist ethics is called *dhamma* at *M*. 2. 32.

[9] The well-known *paṭicca-samuppāda* formula, see e.g., *V*. 1. 1. The BSk. term for the formula is *pratītya-samutpāda*, see e.g. *Divy*. 300, 547, and *Mhvu*. 2. 416, 417; 3. 314. *Pratyayā*, Pali *paccayā*, is rendered here by "the result," in preference to such renderings as "conditioned by," "by reason of" or "dependent on," in an attempt to express the fact that the consequent was commensurate with the antecedent, that is, it was a case of one whole state or condition wholly passing into another. The accusative *pratyayaṃ* is used in some of the clauses here.

as the result of consciousness, individuality ;[1] as the result of individuality, the six functions[2] of sense ; as the result of the six functions of sense, contact ; as the result of contact, feeling ; as the result of feeling, craving ; as the result of craving, grasping ;[3] as the result of grasping, coming-to-be ; as the result of coming-to-be, birth ; as the result of birth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation. In such a way comes to be the arising of this whole great mass of ill. [But he understood also] that from the cessation of ignorance comes the cessation of the *saṃskāras* ; from the cessation of the *saṃskāras* that of consciousness ; from the cessation of consciousness that of individuality ; from the cessation of individuality that of the six functions of sense ; from the cessation of the six functions of sense that of contact ; from the cessation of contact that of feeling ; from the cessation of feeling that of craving ; from the cessation of craving that of grasping ; from the cessation of grasping that of coming-to-be ; from the cessation of coming-to-be that of birth ; from the cessation of birth that of old age, death, grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation. In this way there comes to be cessation of this whole great mass of ill. All the *saṃskāras* are impermanent, ill ; all things[4] are without a self. This is the calm, the exalted, the true and the unchangeable state,[5] namely, the rejection of every basis of existence,[6] the quelling of all the *saṃskāras*, the dissolution of phenomena, the end of craving, and passionlessness, cessation, nirvana.

(286) Then, monks, on that occasion the Tathāgata breathed forth this solemn utterance :—

Fair is the reward of the righteous ; his desire is fulfilled.
Quickly does he pass to perfect peace, to nirvana.

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[1] *Nāma-rūpa*, "name and form."

[2] *Āyatana*, a term which, as applied to perception, denotes the interrelation of sense-organ and sense-object. It is not easy to render the term by one word in English, but "function" may be regarded as approximately exact, inasmuch as that the sense-organ only functions in the presence of the corresponding sense-object. See *P.E.D.* for references to discussions of this term.

[3] *Upādāna*.

[4] *Dharmā*, here practically identified with *saṃskārā*. Cf. *D*. 3. 58, 77, 141, and *Dh*. 277–9.

[5] Cf. *A*. 1, 133 and *It*. 44.

[6] *Sarvopadhipratini : sarga*, cf. Pali *sabbūpadhipaṭinissagga*. For *upadhi* see Vol. 1, p. 199. 2, where the synonymous term *upādi* is used.

Whatever assaults the deva hosts of Māra make against him[1] *they can not put an obstacle*[2] *in the way of the virtuous.*

The hindrances[3] that arise in the way of a man of deficient virtue do not arise in the way of the virtuous. The latter's concentration becomes strong through his accumulation[4] of merits. Whatever the virtuous man aims at, whether in the world of devas or among saintly men, he succeeds in his aim. Or if he aims at nirvana, the immoveable griefless way where all ill is quelled, he wins it.

"With little difficulty"[5] (said the Bodhisattva), "I have attained[6] the uttermost enlightenment. By my knowledge and energy I have escaped ill; I have laid down my heavy burden and won omniscience. Māra is cast down, with all his host; he is reduced to cinder, come to his end;[7] while I stand under this incomparable *bodhi* tree."

For seven days while he sat on his solitary seat thousands of *koṭis* of devas paid him honour. Over that seat they scattered powder of the sandal-wood tree and flowers of the coral tree. Above it celestial musical instruments struck up and played. Then devas from above scattered down powder of the celestial sandal-wood tree; of the celestial aloe-wood, of the celestial *keśara*,[8] of celestial *tamāla*.[9] They showered down flowers of the celestial coral tree, of the celestial great coral tree, of the *karkārava*,[10] of the great *karkārava*, of the *rocamāna*,[11] of the great *rocamāna*, of the *bhīṣma*,[12] of the *samantagandha*,[13] of the great *samantagandha*, of the *manjūṣaka*,[14]

[1] Literally, "in front of him," *purato*.
[2] *Antarāya*.
[3] *Vighnā*, for the more usual term *nīvaraṇāni*. See Vol. 1. p. 117.
[4] *Sambhāra*, another unusual expression. More usual in our text is *sañcaya* or some other compound of *-caya*. Pali uses *abhisankhāra*. For another application of the word *sambhāra* see p. 245, *n*. 7.
[5] *Alpakiśareṇa*. See p. 206 *n*. 2.
[6] *Sparśitā*, cf. the Pali *phassita* in the same sense at *J*. 5. 252, where however, the *P.E.D.* doubts the correctness of the reading. Cf. also *M*. 1. 33, 475, 477; *MA*. 1. 162; and *A*. 5. 11.
[7] *Antaka*, also an epithet of Māra; see *P.E.D.* for references.
[8] See Vol. 1, p. 32, *n*. 3. Here spelt *keśala*.
[9] See Vol. 1, p. 168, *n*. 6.
[10] See Vol. 1, p. 221, *n*. 1.
[11] See Vol. 1, p. 186, *n*. 3.
[12] *Ib.*, *n*. 4.
[13] *Ib.*, *n*. 5.
[14] Name of a celestial tree.

of the great *manjūṣaka*, celestial flowers of the *pārijātaka*,[1] flowers of gold,[2] (287), of silver, of all precious jewels. There appeared in the sky thirty thousand celestial and bejewelled sunshades[3] shading the Conqueror's body, which was like a rock overlaid with precious stones, like a tope of gold, blessed with the root of virtue acquired in several *koṭis* of *kalpas*.

Then, monks, a large number of Śuddhāvāsa[4] devas approached the Bodhisattva, and, having bowed at his feet, stood to one side. Reverentially and deferentially[5] they arranged their robes over one shoulder and raised their joined hands, thus doing homage to the Tathāgata. And, monks, as they thus stood on one side the numerous Śuddhāvāsa devas roared at wicked Māra eighty times.[6] What eighty? (They roared at him saying) " O wicked one, didst thou not consider these things and say to thyself?[7] ' Verily, I shall not see again anyone among devas or men renouncing Gotama the Recluse. Let me then go away in disgust[8] with Gotama the Recluse.[9] Here are all the devas of my domain become the intimate companions of Gotama the Recluse. Beings like him have knowledge of former lives.[10] Beings like him are near to nirvana.[11] Beings like him are endowed with radiance. Beings like him have faultless conduct. Beings like him have experience of descent into the womb.[12] (288) Beings like him have experience of standing in the womb.[13] Beings like him have experience of birth. Beings like him come to be born in a (noble) family. Beings like him have the (thirty-two) marks

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 221, *n*. 2.
[2] Reading *suvarṇa* for *suvana* of the text.
[3] Reading °*chatra*° for °*chata*° (*sic*) of the text.
[4] See Vol. 1, p. 28, *n*. 5.
[5] *Sapratīsa*. See Vol. 1, p. 137, *n*. 1.
[6] Literally, " in eighty ways," *aśītihi ākārehi*.
[7] The text repeats this question *na* . . . *te* . . . *etadabhuṣi* before each sentence, but the translation avoids the repetition by using the words " these things " for " this thing," *etad*.
[8] *Nirvidya* from *nirvid* (*-vindati*), used here with the loc. case.
[9] This, too, is repeated each time, but is omitted in translation.
[10] Literally " are endowed with a former association," *pūrvayogasampannā*. For *pūrvayoga* see p. 245, *n*. 2. The translation of *sampanna*, " endowed with " has to be varied occasionally in the following sentences to procure better readability in English.
[11] *Nirvāṇasantika*. Cf. *Dh*. 372 ; *S*. 1. 33 ; 4. 74.
[12] Literally, " are endowed with [the attribute of] descent into the womb," *garbhāvakrāntisampanna*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 112, *n*. 1.
[13] Cf. Vol. 1, p. 114.

(of a Great Man). Beings like him have the (eighty) minor characteristics. Beings like him have fulfilled their duties[1] and are endowed with dharma. Beings like him are endowed with what is lovely. Beings like him are endowed with beauty. Beings like him receive worship and praise.[2] Beings like him are endowed with good dispositions. Beings like him are endowed with real being.[3] Beings like him are endowed with complete splendour. Beings like him are endowed with the right action in deed. Beings like him are endowed with the right action in speech. (289) Beings like him are endowed with the right action in thought. Beings like him are endowed with the essence of being. Beings like him are endowed with the choicest essence.[4] Beings like him are endowed with unfailing dharma. Beings like him have the ability to embark for the shore beyond.[5] Beings like him are endowed with vitality.[6] Beings like him are endowed with good behaviour.[7] Beings like him are endowed with great compassion. Beings like him are endowed with confidence.[8] Beings like him are endowed with great authority. Beings like him are endowed with the sovereignty of dharma.[9] Beings like him are endowed with the great dharma. Beings like him are masters of the world.[10] (290) Beings like him are masters of investigation of the world.[11] Beings like him are masters of thorough investigation[12] of the world. Beings like him are endowed with magic power. Beings like him are endowed with conditions accessory

[1] *Kṛitādhikāra.*
[2] *Kāravarṇasampanna.*
[3] *Sattvasampanna.*
[4] *Sattvasāra.* Cf. *M.* 3. 69.
[5] ? *Abhirūhasampanna. Abhirūha* is BSk. The *P.E.D.* referring to this passage cites the form *abhirūhana* which is the *v.l.* of one MS. At *Miln.* 356, the only Pali reference in the *P.E.D.*, the word has its literal sense of "climbing," "mounting." The translation, however, assumes that there is a connexion between the use of the word in our text and the expression at *Thag.* 766 (p. 75) where *nāvāya abhirūhanam* is synonymous with "entering on the way" (*magga*).
[6] *Yāpanaka,* so rendered by Senart, who remarks that the suffix *-ka,* as often in BSk., has an abstract force.
[7] *Cāritra,* Pali *cāritta.*
[8] Reading, with Senart, *āśvāsa* for *āvāsa.*
[9] Cf. *A.* 1. 109; 3. 149.
[10] ? *lokasampanna,* "endowed with the world," but it is not clear what exact sense is to be given to *loka* here, whether "universe," "this world," or "the sphere of materiality."
[11] *Lokavicayasampanna,* "endowed with investigation of the world."
[12] *Pravicaya.* With these two expressions, cf. *Dhs.* 16 (p. 11) *vicayo, pavicayo dhammavicayo* (search for the dharma).

to enlightenment.[1] Beings like him are endowed with exertion.[2] Beings like him are endowed with energy. Beings like him are endowed with mindfulness.[3] Beings like him are endowed with concentration. Beings like him are endowed with wisdom. Beings like him are endowed with emancipation. Beings like him are endowed with the knowledge and insight of emancipation.[4] Beings like him are endowed with readiness of speech.[5] Beings like him are endowed with (powers of) exposition. (291) Beings like him are endowed with (the ability to) teach the dharma. Beings like him are endowed with (the ability to) teach the faultless dharma. Beings like him are endowed with knowledge and insight. Beings like him are endowed with imperturbability. Beings like him are endowed with (powers of) protection. Beings like him have knowledge of a former birth.[6] Beings like him have a suitable[7] birth. Beings like him have a lovely birth. Beings like him have an excellent birth. Beings like him have a best birth. Beings like him have a pre-eminent birth. (292) Beings like him have a former birth in which they make a vow.[8] Beings like him are endowed with reliance.[9] Beings like him are

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[1] *Bodhipakṣikadharma*. *Pakṣika* is the Pali *pakkhika* or *pakkhiya*. These *dharmas*, which in Abhidamma, e.g. *Vism.* 678, are given as 37 in number, are identical with the *bojjhangas* (*bodhyangas*). They are referred to, but not enumerated in the older texts. (See Mrs. Rhys Davids in introduction to *Vibhanga*, xiv.) The term *pakṣika* has been taken to be a derivative of *pakṣa*, and has accordingly been rendered either "being on the side of" or "forming the wings of." (See Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 80–81.) This interpretation seems to be borne out by the fact that in BSk. the forms *bodhipakṣa* and °*pakṣya* are more frequent than °*pakṣika*. At the same time, as the word *pakkhika* does definitely occur in the older Pali texts, it cannot be regarded as certain that the term as well as the complete formula originated among the Sanskritists or quasi-Sanskrists, as Har Dayal maintains (p. 81). There is every possibility that the Pali *pakkhika* is more original, and the etymology of this, viz. from *pakkha*, Sk. suffix °*prakhya*, "like," "resembling" would seem to suit its application in this formula better than the derivation from *pakṣa*, "wing," or "side." For then *bodhipakṣikadharma* would mean a "*bodhi*-like quality or condition." On this supposition all the BSk. forms are due to a wrong Sanskritisation of the Pali *pakkhā*, *pakkhika*.

[2] *Utthāna*, Pali *uṭṭhāna*, often synonymous with *vīrya* (*viriya*).

[3] Miss I. B. Horner remarks that in Pali *sīla*, "morality" usually takes the place of *sati* (*smṛiti*) in this series.

[4] *Vimuktijñānadarśana*, cf. Pali *vimuttiñāṇa-dassana*, *S.* I. 139.

[5] *Pratibhāna*, Pali *paṭibhāna*. For a discussion of this term see *Pts. of Controversy*, p. 378.

[6] *Pūrvotpāda*, see p. 245, *n*. 3.

[7] Reading *yugyotpāda* for *yugotpāda*, see p. 245, *n*. 4.

[8] *Praṇidhipūrvotpāda*.

[9] Reading *niśraya* for *ni:śreya*, as in the two parallel lists pp. 259, 280 (text.)

endowed with an accumulation[1] (of merits). Beings like him are endowed with support.[2] Beings like him are endowed with the conditions of enlightenment.[3] Beings like him are endowed with the Āryan five-fold concentration.[4] Beings like him are endowed with the Āryan great five-fold concentration. Beings like him are endowed with the Āryan five knowledges.[5] Beings like him are endowed with the Āryan great five knowledges. Beings like him are endowed with fixity of mind.[6] Beings like him are endowed with quietude.[7] Beings like him secure triumph over the armies of their foes. (**293**) Beings like him are endowed with self-dependence.[7] Beings like him are endowed with the law[9] of self-dependence. Beings like him are endowed with the excellent perfect law. Beings like him have the achievement of merit to their credit.[10] Beings like him are endowed with the excellent and perfect accomplishment of beauty.[11] Beings like him are endowed with beauty.

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[1] *Upacaya*. It is not likely that this word has here the technical sense it has in the expression *rūpassa upacaya*, "integration of form" (see *Cpd.* 253, *Dhs. trsl.* 195). The corresponding item in the list on p. 259 (text) is *upadhāna* and on p. 280, *upacāra*, and, perhaps, the word should be emended into one of these.

[2] *Upastambhanakuśala*. The parallel passages pp. 259, 280 (text) have *upastambhasampanna*. *Kuśala*, "skilled in," can thus be taken here as practically synonymous with *sampanna*, "endowed with."

[3] *Sambhāra*, see p. 245, *n*. 7.

[4] *Pañcāngikasamādhi*. While late Buddhist Sanskrit texts had a tendency to multiply the number of *samādhis* indefinitely (see Har Dayal, *op. cit.*, p. 234), Pali texts speak of only three and four kinds (see *P.E.D.*). Possibly the allusion here is to the five constituents or conditions of *samādhi*.

[5] The text has *jñāti*, "relative," but from the point of view of enlightenment *jñati* is a hindrance, and is included among the ten *palibodha* (*Vism*. 94). Senart's suggestion that *jñāti* must be a formation of *jñā* and not of *jan* is therefore plausible, and has been adopted in the translation. Possibly the allusion is to the five superknowledges (*abhijñā*). Equally likely it may be to some unknown division of the objects of knowledge. Pali texts know of a division into four (see *P.E.D.*).

[6] *Ekāgramana*. Cf. Pali *ekaggatā*. (See *Cpd*. 16, 178, *n*. 3, 237, 240).

[7] *Araṇāsampanna*. The usage of *araṇa* shows confusion between two etymologies. It can mean "remote," "solitary," from root *ṛi*, whence Vedic *araṇya* and Pali *arañña*, and has so been rendered in Vol. 1, p. 130 (see *n*. 3). It can also be regarded as a compound of *a* and *raṇa*, "fight," and so mean peace. *Araṇa*° or *araṇāvihārin* in Pali, although the ending -*ā* may imply an ablative in function of *ārakā*, "far from" (see *P.E.D.*) can still be indifferently rendered as "one who lives in seclusion" or "a harmless, peaceful person." The long final *ā* of the *Mhvu*. example may point to the former sense, but the rendering "quietude" seems adequate to cover both ideas.

[8] *Svayambhū*. See Vol. 1, p. 29, *n*. 9.

[9] *Dharmatā*, Pali *dhammatā*.

[10] *Kṛitapuṇyatā*, Pali *katapuññatā* (*D*. 3. 276).

[11] Beauty, *varṇa*, does not seem to be elsewhere reckoned among the accomplishments (*sampadās*).

"O wicked one, these beings are not easy to overcome. Behold, O wicked one, how great this sin of thine is."

Thus, monks, did the Śuddhāvāsa devas, standing on one side roar eighty times at wicked Māra.

The Exalted One related this when he was staying near Rājagṛiha on Mount Gṛiddhakūṭa.[1] And as the exposition was being given the hearts of the five hundred monks were quite freed of the *āśravas*, and elated they rejoiced at the words of the Exalted One.

Here ends the *sūtra* called *Avalokita*.

THE SECOND AVALOKITA SŪTRA

Thus have I heard. Once the Exalted One was staying at Veśālī[2] in the grove of Āmrapālī,[3] with a great company of monks and a great crowd of Bodhisattvas.[4] Then a monk, named Viśuddhamati,[5] rose up from his seat, and, arranging his robe over one shoulder, knelt on the ground with his right knee. He extended his joined hands (294) in salutation to the Exalted One, and said to him, "Let the Exalted One disclose what he saw when, as a Bodhisattva, he had come to the *bodhi* tree and stood on the *bodhi* throne[6] and, for the benefit and welfare of the whole world, made his survey.[7] This will be for the good and happiness of mankind, will bestow compassion on the world, and will be for the sake of the great multitude,

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[1] See p. 242, *n.* 4.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 208, *n.* 2.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 216, *n.* 3.
[4] This definitely marks the *sūtra* as a *Mahāyānist* work.
[5] Apparently not mentioned elsewhere.
[6] *Bodhimaṇḍa*, "the essence of enlightenment," but possibly *maṇḍa* here is for *maṇḍala*.
[7] The text has simply *avalokitam . . . nirdiśatu*—"disclose what was surveyed." The *sūtra* obviously derives its title from *avalokita* in this primary sense of "to survey" or "to look out upon." There are several allusions in the *Mhvu.* to this action on the part of the Buddha or Bodhisattva. It is, also, expressly alluded to at the beginning of the first *Avalokita -sūtra* (see p. 244, *n.* 3). Subsequently the word became part of the name of the great Bodhisattva of Northern Buddhism, *Avalokiteśvara*, and the latter by a process of fanciful interpretation became the Chinese *Kuan Yin.* (For discussion and references see E. J. Thomas: *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 189, *n.*, and Har Dayal, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.)

and for the good and welfare of devas and men and the Great Beings, the Bodhisattvas. The great world of dharma[1] will be established[2] and comfort assured."[3]

And on that occasion the monk Viśuddhamati recited these verses :—

How, O Light of the world,[4] infinite, free of passion, didst thou cross the Nairañjanā for the sake of all living beings ?

Declare, O mighty hero, Tathāgata, great seer, what portents there were as the Best of Men crossed over.

How, O Light of the world, was the throne of bodhi *adorned for thee ? This I beseech thee to tell me, O good and beneficent one.*

And, O Monument of the world,[5] tell how thou didst win the supreme enlightenment, and how thou didst smite the Son of Darkness[6] and his host.

O Self-dependent, True Being, without superior, declare what thy ten powers[7] are. . . .[8]

" With[9] the power of thy magic thou didst illumine the ten quarters of the world, O Caravan-leader, O Great Seer, honoured a hundred times over by men and gods.[10] Thou dost stride like a king of swans, white as snow, pure, of Dhṛitarāṣtra's family of swans,[12] the best of Suras whose body knows no weariness. Thou dost wander from region to region, ranging through the hosts of devas, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakṣas and the abodes of the gods, (295) making their golden pillars look dull. Just as a disk of gold excels a burnt pillar[11] so does the Master excel the whole world. Thou art a flower in bloom ; thy body is studded with the marks of excellence as the sky is overlaid

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[1] *Dharmaloka.*
[2] Literally " made," *krita.*
[3] Literally " given," *datto bhavati.*
[4] *Lokapradyota.* See Vol. 1, p. 37, *n.* 1.
[5] *Lokasya cetiya.*
[6] *Kriṣṇabandhu, i.e.* Māra.
[7] See Vol. 1, pp. 126–7.
[8] Lacuna.
[9] Viśuddhamati's eulogy continued in prose.
[10] *Maru.*
[11] Referring to the family of *haṃsas,* " swans " or " geese " to which belonged Dhṛitarāṣtra (Dhataraṭṭha), king of the *haṃsas* (see *D.P.N.*).
[12] *Yathaiva dagdhāṃ sthūṇāṃ suvarṇabimbaṃ abhibhavati.* The simile is obscure.

with stars. There is no limit[1] to the hundreds of thousands of merits that accrue from calling on the name of the Sugata but once. There is none equal to thee in the whole world; how much less a superior one? So dost thou light up all the ten regions all around, as the sun in the sky. Thy body, O Daśabala, freed from what is gross, is adorned with the thirty-two marks of excellence as with a coat of mail, and is bright like the moon in the month of Kārttika.[2] As thousand-rayed stars are the Master's eighty-four followers, by whom the Exalted One's voice, perfect in its thousand tones and endowed with five qualities, and his speech are comprehended.[3] From the Exalted One's mouth there breathes the scent of sandal-wood. He maintains the immeasurable, limitless and infinite Buddha-fields.[4] He cures[5] the barrenness[6] of malice and folly. If all the three thousand worlds were filled with mountains of mustard seed, it might be possible, by taking them one by one, to count the seed. But it is not possible to count all the infinite, numberless creatures in the ten regions who smell and perceive the sandal-wood scent of the Exalted One. Thou art in a state of forbearance;[7] thou art wise, unequalled, a hero with great compassion, majestic and powerful, a healer of beings, a saviour, untarnished, worthy of the offerings of those who come to thy refuge, a most eminent Conqueror, a Self-dependent One.[8] Who can ever have enough of praising thee? So measureless is thy power. May we come to the place of unending beauty, where passion is stilled, where the heart is at peace, to the refuge, to thee[9] the victor, the invincible. It may be possible for a traveller to reach the limit

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[1] *Koṭi parā na vidyati*, see Vol. 1, p. 98, *n*. 2.
[2] October–November. Here spelt *Kārtika*.
[3] This sentence is so corrupt that it could justifiably be omitted in translation. The translation offered is based on Senart's attempt at restoration, which he admits is far from satisfactory. His correction of *pañcapurā* into *pañcaguṇo* seems to be justified by the allusion in Vol. 1, p. 315 (text) to the five qualities of the Buddha's voice.
[4] See Vol. 1, p. 95 *ff*.
[5] Literally "allays," *sameti* = *śameti*.
[6] *Khila*, emended into *khilā*, or, better perhaps, joined into a compound *khiladoṣamosham*. For this use of *khila*, literally "fallow-land," cf. its similar use in Pali, e.g. *S*. 5. 57, where the *khilas* are three in number, *rāga*, "passion" being added to the above two, and *M*. 1. 101, where allusion is made to the five *cetokhilā*.
[7] *Kṣāntibhūmi*.
[8] These epithets are vocative case in the text.
[9] *Tvā* for *tvām*.

of[1] the air and of the sea; it is not possible to reach the limit (296) of the measure of the Conqueror's power. So instinct with power is the perfect Buddha. I beseech thee, Lion, Lord of men, the Daśabala, the Infinite One, O hero, whose passion is stilled, explain to me in answer to my request what the heart at peace through knowledge is, and a pure world free from attachment.[2]

For thousands of koṭis *of* kalpas, *for an infinite, unthinkable time, the Omniscient One, the supreme of bipeds, fared in quest of the good.*

He ensued charity, morality, forbearance, and the meditations, and practised wisdom in former lives for many a hundred koṭis *of* kalpas.

The gleam of fiery gems, of flashes of lightning in the sky and of the stars became broken.[3]

There is no deva, nor Nāga, nor Yaksa, nor Kumbhāṇḍa, nor Rākṣasa, whose body is like thine, O Leader of men.

" Worshipped by Suras and Asuras, venerated, praised and revered art thou, O Great Seer, Light-bringer, Lord of bipeds, noble essence of being, Bull-man, Monument of men. The circle of hair on the forehead of the Exalted One, between his eyebrows, shines like the sun; is bright like the clear moon in the month of Kārttika, when it is full. The dark-blue clear eyes of the Leader gleam like the sheen of the bright blue lotus, spotless, shining and lustrous. The teeth of the Lord of men and women, which are a joy to behold[4], spotless and white, well-developed and even, like pure snow, (297) find a fitting place[5] in thy mouth which is clean like a fair petal, O Daśabala. The tongue of the Master, of the Leader, covered with gentle, delicate lines, and having an exquisite sense of taste, has the sheen of a young bud; it is divine, and gratifying to men. His joy-giving broad forehead, his eyebrows and his face, shine with glowing radiance like the moon. O Daśabala, the

[1] *Kṣapetum*, causative of *kṣip*, an extension of the use of this form to denote " to pass, to spend " of time.

[2] Reading *śuddhām*, etc., accusative, for the nominative in the text, and *asangām* for *asangatitā*, which Senart naturally prints with a (?).

[3] *Jihmavarṇa*, " of crooked colour."

[4] Literally " pleasure-producing," *sukhajanana*, *sc.* for those who behold them.

[5] *Saṃrocate*, " choose," " find pleasure in." Cf. Pali *saṃrocate*.

dark-blue hair on the Exalted One's head is neatly arranged. O Śākyan Lion, thy neck gleams like a golden[1] shell, as though dividing the body of the Conqueror.[2] The body of the Exalted One, with its bust like a lion's,[3] cannot be broken up.[4] Thou illuminest all the regions of the world. O thou whose eloquence is inimitable, O thou peerless sea (of eloquence), make us realise the maturing of our karma as thou speakest these words. The whole world does homage to thee, turned[5] towards thee in entreaty with joined hands raised."

When the monk Viśuddhamati had thus spoken the Exalted One said to him, "Good is it for you, O monk, yea, good is it for you that you think that the Tathāgata should be asked this favour. Brilliant is your readiness of speech, O monk, and good is your reflection in that this occurred[6] to you. So, too, the fruits of karma become clear[7] for these young gentlemen[8] who will master this exposition of the dharma. They will not fall into the power of wicked Māra. Neither human beings nor demons will have a chance[9] (of harming) them. And why? Because these monks, these beings, on behalf of whom you ask this concerning the Bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, have laid up[10] a noble root of goodness. It is for the good of all beings,

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[1] *Grīvā . . . śobhe yathā suvarṇakambu.* *Cf. Thig.* 262 (p. 148), *saṅha-kampurī va* (to be emended into—*kambu-r-iva*, see *J.P.T.S.* 184, p. 76) *śobhate . . . gīvā.*

[2] The text here cannot be correct. It reads *yathā ovāhā* (v.l. *ovāhāya*) *ca jina samā*, which might be rendered, "it (thy neck), O Conqueror, is like the *ovāhā*." But no substantive *ovāhā* is known. Dr. W. Stede, who very kindly allowed the translator to consult him on this passage, made the ingenious suggestion that *ovāhā* (*ovāhāya*) should be read *ovahā* (*ovahāya*) and interpreted as "a contaminated samprasāraṇa of *vyavadhāya* (*vava* = *vo*, combined *vova-*, and then *ova*) from root *dhā*, 'to divide.'" With the insertion of *kāyaṃ*, dropped through the influence of *-hāya* (or better, perhaps, with the substitution of it for *samā*), we get the rendering, '(the neck) as though dividing the Conqueror's body.'" Dr. Stede, of course, does not claim that this emendation is absolutely certain. But it would definitely seem to be on the right lines, for we need with the second *yathā* in this sentence a verbal expression corresponding more or less to *śobhe* with the first. (See preceding note.)

[3] *Siṃhārdhapūrva.* One of the "32 marks," see Vol. 1, p. 182, *n.* 5, where the corresponding Pali is *sīha-pubbaddhakāyo.* The word for body here, as several times in our text, is *ātmabhāva.*

[4] Literally "split," *abhedya.*

[5] *Āvarjita* BSk. = Pali *āvajjita.*

[6] Reading *pratibhāyati* = °*bhāti*, impersonal, for °*bhāsi*, "to appear" (to the mind), "seem good." Cf. the substantive *pratibhāna.*

[7] *Pratibhāyanti*, the personal use of the same verb.

[8] Or "clansmen," *kulaputra.*

[9] *Avatāra*, see p. 228, *n.* 4.

[10] Literally, "lived," *carita.*

monk, that you think that you should question the Tathāgata about the Bodhisattvas, the leaders of the world, who stand out among all beings pre-eminent for conduct. O monk, it is for the good of all beings (298) that you question the Tathāgata about the Bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, leaders of the world, who are outstanding in their skill to dispel and scatter all doubt. O monk, it is for the good of all beings that you question the Tathāgata about the Bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, leaders of the world, who are eminently devoted to liberality, forbearance, meditation and wisdom."

And on that occasion the Exalted One recited these verses :—

When I came down from Tuṣita, the abode of devas, and, in the form of a white six-tusked elephant, entered the womb of the king's chief queen, then did the three thousand worlds quake.

Then did rich golden radiance light up the three thousand worlds, even the highest heaven above, when the Conqueror, self-possessed, entered the womb.

Śakra with his hundred thousands, and koṭis *from Brahmā's realm came to pay him constant homage by day and by night, nor did they ever go away without being dismissed.*

A hundred thousand musical instruments played in the sky above, which was thronged[1] *by all the devas. They let fall celestial powder of sandal-wood, and others held banners and sunshades in their hands.*

(They)[2] *showered down fair celestial flowers of the blue lotus, bees and peacocks, and golden garlands, when the Conqueror, self-possessed, entered the womb.*

When the Buddha, the quintessence of being, was born the lord of devas in elation brought him an especial garment, bright, silken, and gleaming like the gold of Jāmbūnada.[3]

And when the Bodhisattva stood on the ground he joyfully took seven strides and said (299) *" Lo, I will put an incomparable end in the world to old age that brings death in its train."*

[1] *Sphuṭa* BSk. = Pali *phuṭa* (from *pharati*), " pervaded," " permeated," " filled with." In the same sense in Vol. 1, pp. 240, 270 (text).

[2] There is a lacuna in the text here, representing the subject of the verb *pravarṣi*, " rained or showered down."

[3] Name for the gold said to be found in the river Jambu (Jambū), a fabulous river rising in Mount Meru. (*M.W.*)

Then did the earth quake six times, and a radiance was shed in all directions around. Celestial voices sang in the sky, and eighty thousand devas appeared.

The devas showered down from the sky celestial powder of sandal-wood, golden and bright. The devas,[1] *joyful and thrilled, bestrewed the Bodhisattva with flowers of the coral-tree.*

When the world's[2] *Bodhisattva was twenty-nine years old and had reached maturity,*[3] *he renounced his kingdom and the seven fair treasures,*[4] *and put on the yellow robe.*

The wise Bodhisattva left his home, and for six years lived a life of austerities. He entered the domain of Magadha, and there a village chieftain's daughter saw him.[5]

Exultantly the Bodhisattva took the golden vessel, the pitcher, which sparkled with gems, was perfectly formed[6] *and entirely beautiful, and then the Seer rinsed* (*his mouth*).

She tendered him strength-giving food that was exquisitely flavoured and fragrant of smell. Then greatly stirred she formed a resolution[7] *saying, "May I become a Buddha accoutred with the* (*thirty-two*) *marks.*

"Abandoning this base state of desire,[8] *may I live the pure, untarnished holy life. May I renounce the pleasures of sense, the source of ill, the root of passion, and follow after the Buddhas who have destroyed defilement and are rid of the lusts."*

And when, happy in her heart, Senāpati's daughter had spoken these verses, she held out her joined hands in adoration of the Bodhisattva, wept and said :—

"Great gain has Bimbisāra well won, my Lord; he

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[1] *Maru.*

[2] *Jagad.*

[3] *Paripācayitvā.* Causative for radical.

[4] *I.e.* of a universal king or *Cakravartin.* See Vol. I, p. 41.

[5] *I.e.* Sujātā. For this episode see p. 126.

[6] *Aṣṭāngupeta,* "having eight parts or corners," *i.e.* being complete. Cf. use of *aṭṭhaṃsa* in Pali, "having perfect symmetry."

[7] *Chanda.* For examples of women, after, of course, a change of sex, becoming Buddhas, see *Lotus* c. 11 and the *Karaṇḍavyuha,* both cited by E. J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 193.

[8] *Iṣṭibhāva.*

has gained freedom from grief and has knowledge of increase.[1] (300) *For in his kingdom there stands to-day the Bodhisattva who will win the incomparable enlightenment.*

"After eating the food I gave him, Krakucchanda, the self-dependent one, went on to the tree, the monarch of all that grows, irradiating the ten quarters around like a sacrificial post made of Jāmbūnada gold.

"And he who was named Konaka and was greatly worthy of offerings, went on to the bodhi *throne after eating my food, sublime of heart, immoveable, unshakable, his body covered*[2] *with the thirty-two marks.*

"He, too, who was then named Kāśyapa, whose body was like Jāmbūnada gold, the wise one, the essence of being, self-dependent, went on to the noble tree, the monarch of all that grows, after he had eaten my food.

"And all the matchless ones, worthy of offerings, that will be in some auspicious kalpa, *wise, with defilements destroyed and rid of the lusts, may I be able to worship them all by reason of my incomparable enlightenment. No other desire whatsoever is mine."*

And the devas in the sky bestrewed the Bodhisattva, with sandalwood (powder) while Senāpati's daughter, moved with joy at the great gain she had won, spoke (these) words.

And Sujātā, conceiving a pure love for the Bodhisattva, again recalled to mind[3] *her former lives, and said, "Thousands of* koṭis *of* nayutas *of Buddhas ate my food and went on to the foot of the* bodhi *tree."*

When the Bodhisattva had come to the river Nairañjanā he stopped for a moment. With the even soles of his feet[4] he made the earth to tremble. And on that occasion the great earthquake was terrifying, hair-raising. For by that great

[1] ? *Parivṛiṃhitājña. Parivriṃhitā* must be an abstract from *pari-vṛih* (*bṛih* or *barh*). Cf. Pali *paribrūhaṇa.*

[2] *Sphuṭa.* See p. 279, *n.* 1.

[3] *Smaresi,* Pali-Prakrit 3rd pers.

[4] *Samehi pādatalehi.* One of the thirty-two characteristics (*lakṣaṇāni*) of a Mahāpuruṣa. See Vol. 1, p. 180.

earthquake the great system of three thousand worlds was made level like the palm of the hand. And Sumeru,[1] the monarch of mountains, the mountains of Cakravāḍa[2] and Mahācakravāḍa, the seven mountain-ranges, Nimindhara, Yugandhara, Iṣāndhara, Khadiraka, Aśvakarṇa, Vinataka and Sudarśana, within the continent, and other Kāla[3] mountains subsided to the ground (**301**) through the power of the Bodhisattva. The great oceans were violently and perceptibly stirred.[4]

Again, on that occasion the great system of three thousand worlds was covered[5] with hundreds of thousands of lotuses of Jāmbūnada gold, the size of a cartwheel, with hundreds of thousands of leaves like dark-blue beryl, with white coral flowers, (and) yellow[6] *śirigarbhas*.[7] And a great radiance in the form of a chequer-board[8] appeared, and in this radiance the terrible hells became tranquil. All the denizens of hell became happy. All those reborn as brutes became happy. All the inhabitants of Yama's world[9] became happy and friendly towards one another, through the power of the Bodhisattva. The great system of three thousand worlds was bathed in that great radiance.

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[1] Generally Meru in Vol. 1 (*q.v.* Index), a mountain in the centre of the world. In Pali also called Sineru, Hemameru and Mahāmeru (*D.P.N.*). Each Cakravāḍa has its own Sineru surrounded by the seven mountain ranges named here. These names are also given in *Divy.* 217, and are practically identical with the Pali names.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 7, *n.* 2.

[3] Or, "Mountains of time," mythical mountains, located, in Pali texts, in Himavā. (*D.P.N.*) The term is rendered by Kern (*S.B.E.* xxi, p 33), "Kāla-mountain," but on page 386, "elevations at the cardinal points," the explanation being, according to him (footnote *ibid.*), that "the points of rising and setting are called *parvata, giri,* etc., in Sanskrit."

[4] Literally, "were stirred (and) were perceived," *saṅkṣubdhā abhūṣi . . . prajñāyensu.*

[5] *Sphuṭa,* see p. 279, *n.* 1. This word occurs frequently in the remainder of this passage.

[6] Or, "reddish-brown," reading *piṅgalehi* for *piñjalehi.*

[7] For *śrīgarbha,* name of a precious stone, see *BR.* But see p. 283, *n.* 6.

[8] *I.e.* "arranged in eight compartments," *astāpadavinibaddha.* Senart compares the expression *suvarṇasūtrāṣṭāpadanibaddha* which occurs several times in the *Lotus,* and which Burnouf (p. 363–4) renders "qui contient des enceintes tracées en forme de damiers avec des cordes d'or," and Kern (*S.B.E.* xxi, p. 233), "showing a checkerboard divided by gold threads into eight compartments." Cf. *aṭṭhapada, V.* 3. 180; *D.* 1. 6.

[9] Yāmalaukika.

Again, on that occasion, all the abodes of the lords of the devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Garuḍas[1], in the great system of three thousand worlds, radiant though they were, seemed bereft of light.[2] Everywhere they became aware of the Bodhisattva's attainment of his true personality.[3]

Again, on that occasion all devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas[4] no longer found joy in their own abodes, through the power of the Bodhisattva. Unable to endure the radiant glory of the Bodhisattva, they all came to the *bodhi* throne carrying flowers, garlands, perfumes, sunshades, banners, musical instruments, incense and ointments.

Again, on that occasion, in the countless, infinite Buddha-fields, Bodhisattvas of exceeding loveliness stood in the sky above, fashioning celestial garments and carrying celestial blue, red and white lotuses.

Again, on that occasion, this great system of three thousand worlds, (302) from the surface of the earth up to the highest abode, was filled with hundreds of thousands of lotuses of Jāmbūnada gold, the size of a cartwheel, with stalks of dark-blue beryl, and myriads[5] of filaments yellow like the acacia gem,[6] and by the arrival of Bodhisattvas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas. Then the Bodhisattva crossed the river Nairañjanā in front of the great host of devas. And on that occasion eighty *koṭis* of sunshades made of Jāmbūnada gold appeared and stood above the Bodhisattva,

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[1] See vol. I, p. 165, *n*. 2.

[2] Literally, "one radiance (though they were) were without radiance," *ekobhāsâbhāsā abhūṣi*.

[3] Literally, "of the attained personality of the Bodhisattva," *bodhisatvasya ātmabhāvatāmanuprāptām*.

[4] Or, "great serpents," and therefore practically identical with Nāgas.

[5] *Ayutaśo*.

[6] The text here has *śirīṣagarbhapañjarehi* which Senart renders "qui forment des cages contenants des *śirīṣas*" (= acacias), but has to confess that this presents no clear picture. The translation above has been made on the assumption that *pañjarehi* should be emended into *pingalehi*, when the whole compound could be rendered "yellow (like) the *śirīṣagarbha*," which latter may be itself the name of a precious stone (*garbha* often entering into the composition of such names), like *sirīsapuppha* at *Miln*. 118, or, alternatively, may be a mistake for the *śirigarbha* mentioned on p. 282. *Śirīṣagarbha* can hardly mean "acacia" simply, but without *garbha* the rest of the compound would, of course, give the quite appropriate sense of "yellow like the acacia."

and eighty *koṭis* made of silver, eighty *koṭis* made of emerald, eighty *koṭis* made of "elephant stone,"[1] eighty *koṭis* made of ruby, and eighty *koṭis* made of gems. And eighty *koṭis* of Nāgas, each Nāga attended by eighty *koṭis* of Nāgas carrying red jasmine approached the Bodhisattva and worshipped him, because of the merit they had acquired of yore.

Then Kāla, the Nāga king, attended by his people, rose up from his dwelling-place, approached the Bodhisattva, bowed his head at his feet, extended his joined hands towards him, and, gazing at him, addressed him in verses.[2]

When the Bodhisattva, confident in his quest for enlightenment, came to the Nairañjanā he reached the foot of the bodhi *tree,*

In which flocks of various birds were singing; which was encircled by fair plants and laden with noble flowers and fruits up to the number of three thousand.

Where those Lights of the world,[3] *Krakucchanda, Konākamuni, and the great seer Kāśyapa, came and achieved enlightenment,*

(303) *To that place has come this Light of the world, the world's Guide, he who is the foremost seer of the Śākyans, kinsmen of the sun.*[4]

The hosts of devas all rejoicing and exhilarated made this earth a billowy cloud of flowers.

The Śuddhāvāsa devas coming from their own abodes, gathered together and reverently adored the Bodhisattva, the Guide of the world.

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[1] ? *Hastigarbha.* This and other compound names of precious stones are analytically rendered when the corresponding English name cannot be ascertained.

[2] Not the verses immediately following, which are a traditional account of the marvels attending the attainment of *bodhi.* The appearance of Kāla is, of course, an incident in this episode.

The whole passage is remarkable for the number of verbal forms in *-e,* which the context shows must be taken as aorist. They are interspersed with normal aorist forms. This verbal form is used indifferently as singular and plural.

[3] *Lokapradyotā.*

[4] Reading *Ādityabandhūnām* for *vāditya°*, either figuratively, as above, or literally "kinsmen of Āditya" (= the sun), Pali Ādicca, clan name of the Śākyans. The epithet is often applied to the Buddha, cf. p. 19.

They adorned the bodhi *throne with celestial and earthly flowers of the coral tree, the costliest*[1] *and the best.*

All the trees in front of it worshipped and bowed to the bodhi *throne, for that is the noble place to which former Buddhas resorted.*

And the goddess that dwelt in the tree at the bodhi *throne spoke in the tongue of faery*[2] *when she saw the Bodhisattva.*

She waved her garment and let fall celestial sandal-wood powder; with a celestial powder of gems she bestrewed the valiant Man.

The winds that have their homes in the four quarters, redolent of various celestial and earthly scents, blew on the bodhi *throne.*

Bright celestial musical instruments in the sky played divers songs, making lovely and charming music.

There was a great radiance made by the rays of the bodhi *throne, and anon the whole world of devas was bathed in it.*

(304) *The bejewelled mansions of the devas were paled*[3] *by the golden rays of the Bodhisattva.*

Thousands of majestic devas, standing in the sky, bestrewed the Bodhisattva with flowers of the coral tree.

Hearing the matchless voice of the great Seer, Kāla the Nāga, attended by his Nāga maidens, was thrilled, gladdened and delighted.

Abandoning his celestial ease and the enjoyment of his diversions, he came and scanned the four quarters and beheld the valiant Man.

Joyful and delighted he adored the Bodhisattva, who was like the sun[4] *risen in the sky with all its rays, and addressed him thus:—*

"O Supreme of men, as were[5] *the marks*[6] *of former Buddhas, those of Krakucchanda, of Konākamuni, the supreme of men,*

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[1] *Mahāraha,* Pali = *mahārgha.*

[2] *Ghoṣesi amānuṣam.*

[3] Literally, "became of crooked light," *jihmavarṇā abhūd.*

[4] *Vairocana.*

[5] *Yādṛiṣā,* the correlative is missing, and hence the apparent irregularity of a stanza of six pādas, that is, one line is wanting to make two stanzas.

[6] The "marks" here alluded to are taken some from the 32 *lakṣaṇāni* (see Vol. 1, pp. 180 *ff.*) and some from the *anuvyañjanāni* or 80 lesser characteristics (see Vol. 2, pp. 40 *f*).

and of Kāśyapa,[1] *the Conqueror, Tathāgata, pre-eminent of men.*

"The feet of these great seers were level of soles, covered with network designs,[2] *well-formed, coloured like the essence of lac, and adorned with designs of wheels. The soles of their feet were bright with svastikas.*

" Lifted with the toes ever turning to the right, the feet of the saviours of the world lit up the bright earth as they moved along.

" Unfettered of feet were these saviours even as thou art; their ankles and toes when chafed[3] *did not shine.*[4]

(305) *" The feet of the saviours of the world who wandered over the bright earth had long toes, copper-coloured nails, network designs and* (*other*) *characteristics.*[5]

" Their legs were like the antelope's, their knees and well-covered ankles were the colour of acacia; thus were the benefactors of the world.

" The arms of those great seers were like elephants' trunks, their busts like those of lions, like the banyan tree in circumference.

" The sheen of their golden skin was like burnished gold. Without bending their bodies they could touch their knees with their hands.

" Their waists were rounded and full like that of the king of beasts; their male organs were enclosed in a sheath like that of a royal steed.

" Their conduct was clean.[6] *Their knees were well-knit.*

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[1] These names are locative, " marks on."

[2] *Jālāvanaddha.* But see Vol. 1, p. 180.

[3] *Sughaṭṭita* may be reminiscent of Pali *ugghaṭṭa* in the expression *ugghaṭṭapādo,* "footsore," at *Sn.* 980, *J.* 4. 20, 5.69, though Fausböll (*S.B.E.* x) and Hare (*Woven Cadences*) both render at *Sn.* 980 by " swollen feet." *P.E.D.* remarks that *ugghaṭṭa* should be referred to *ugghaṃsati* from *ghaṃsati,* Sk. *gharṣati,* " to rub," although Buddhaghosa explains the form as participle or adjective from *ghaṭṭeti,* " to knock " ; the *Mhvu.* form shows the same derivation. The whole sentence is obscure. It is possible that there is an allusion to the previous line, that is, ankles and toes rubbed together do not shine, because there are no metal fetters on them to cause them to do so.

[4] " Shine forth," *ujjotana* from *ud-dyut.*

[5] *Utsada.* See Vol. 1, p. 6, *n.* 1 ; p. 50, *n.* 3.

[6] *Odātaṃ ācāraṃ.* As it is physical characteristics that are being described here we might expect some word like *udaraṃ,* " belly," here instead of *ācāraṃ,* especially as *odāta,* " white," " clean," is generally applied to physical things. But it must be noted that *śucisamācāra,* " pure conduct," is found among the *anuvyañjanāni,* above p. 44 (text).

Deep navels had the Buddhas of old, the great seers.

"Unsoiled by dust or powder were the bodies of those great seers; smooth of skin were those saviours. And so is the Lord.

"They had the hairs on their bodies growing straight upwards in rows, with each hair separate, dark-blue, growing towards the right. So has the Lord, the Saviour of the world.

"Well-rounded were their shoulders, and their eyebrows, just as those of the Valiant One are. The saviours had divinely straight limbs;[1] *these were their characteristics.*

"Their upper and lower arms were snake-like,[2] *thickening gradually.*[3] *Such were the hosts of Nārāyaṇa,*[4] *and such is the Lord.*

(306) *"Long and copper-coloured nails had they, like the summit of mount Kailāsa.*[5] *Exceeding brilliant were their bodies with their signs and marks.*

"Their necks were like shells, gradually thickening.[6] *These saviours had the jaws of a lion, and they had the most delicate sense of taste.*[7]

"Forty rounded teeth had these great seers. Their teeth were gleaming white, just as the Lord's are.

"They could cover their faces with their long slender tongues;[8] *with them they licked the tips of their two ears and their noses.*

"Eight qualities[9] *had the voice of those great seers, who had full perception of the truths that are to be known by all living beings.*

"Their voice was divine;[10] *their voice was like the cuckoo's*

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[1] Reading *brahmārju* for *prahvārju,* which is a contradiction in terms, *prahva,* "bending," and *ṛiju,* "straight." *Brahmārjugātra* (Pali *brahmujjugatto*) is one of the "32 marks." See Vol. 1, p. 181.

[2] *I.e.* of fairly even thickness.

[3] Literally, "raised or rising gradually," *anupūrvaṃ anuddhata* (= *anuddhṛita*). Below p. 306 (text) the word used in a similar context is *samudgata,* "arisen."

[4] Nārāyaṇa, son of Nāra, the original man, often identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa, must here be nothing more than a conventional honorific epithet.

[5] See p. 30, *n.* 3.

[6] *Samudgata,* see *n.* 3.

[7] *Rasarasāgrin,* cf. Pali *rasaggasaggita* and *rasaggasaggin.* See *P.E.D.* for references.

[8] Cf. *Sn.* 1022.

[9] *Aṣṭānga.* See Vol. 1, p. 264, *n.* 1.

[10] Or "like Brahmā's," *brahmasvara.*

cry. The sound of their voice was like that of a drum; their voice was agreeable.[11]

"As the golden thousand-rayed lotus[2] *gleams, so did gleam the faces of the saviours, the kinsmen of the sun.*

"Long and dark-blue were the eyes of the great seers; their prominent noses shone like golden sacrificial posts.

"Between the eyebrows of the high-born great seers were bright moles, soft as cotton.

"Their faces were great (orbs of) fire, like the moon when it is full,[3] **(307)** *or like fiery gems; all regions were lit up by them.*[4]

"Dark-blue was their hair, and soft like kācilinda,[5] *every hair turned to the right; so too is that of the Lord, the Saviour of the world.*

"The saviours had turbans on their heads,[6] *just as the Lord has. Their heads could not be looked on by Suras and Asuras.*

"The Buddhas with their rays excelled the greatly splendid ones,[7] *as the moon is excelled in splendour by the king of light."*

And when he[8] *had seen these and other signs, and all the marks of the Bodhisattva, he spoke these words:—*

"Since these devas have emerged to do thee honour, there is no doubt, Great Hero, that this day thou wilt become a Buddha.

"With the weapon of wisdom in thy hand, thou wilt calmly rend the fetters of Māra, the snare hitherto unsurmounted, craving, the conduit that leads to existence.[9]

"To-day, O Supreme of Men, having attained enlightenment, thou wilt throw off the fever of passion that remains anywhere lurking in the lusts.[10]

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[1] *Premaṇīya*, BSk., Pali *pemanīya*.

[2] *Jaleruha*, "growing in water." *Jaleruhā* is the name of a plant = *kuṭumbinī*, "a small shrub used in medicine, a kind of moon plant." (*M.W.*)

[3] Literally, "at the full month," *pūrṇamāsiye*.

[4] Literally, "shone because of it," *tāya*, Pali instrumental and abative of *sā*, though there is no feminine substantive in the sentence to which the pronoun can be referred.

[5] See p. 246, *n.* 14.

[6] *Uṣṇīṣaśīrṣa*, the translation at Vol. 1, p. 182, "their heads were shaped like a turban," would not, in view of the next sentence, seem appropriate here.

[7] *Sc.* the devas.

[8] *I.e.* Kāla.

[9] *Bhavanetrī*.

[10] Literally, "covered in the lusts," *kilesapariveṣṭita*.

"Exactly like the robe,[1] *the cloak,*[2] *the bowl, and the colour of the upper robe*[3] *which I saw those saviours had, are thine, O Saviour of the world.*

"All men turn to thee in reverential salutation as thou movest like a lion. This day thou wilt become a Buddha."

(308) *Standing on the* bodhi *throne, firmly and energetically he exerted a concentration that was unshakable like a rock and like a Conqueror's.*

And when he had heard the words spoken by Kāla the Nāga, joyful and elated he went on to the foot of the bodhi *tree.*

The mighty Kāla, the Nāga, hearing the matchless voice of the Bodhisattva, hurriedly rose up from his abode.[4]

And raising his joined hands,[5] *he extolled the heroic Buddha as he went on to the* bodhi *throne.*

"May these breezes ever blow[6] *gently and pleasantly, laden with fragrant and charming scents, and neither too hot nor too cold.*

"May the devas rain[7] *on him a shower of flowers. Thus will thy solitude be, O Sugata,*[8] *best of bipeds.*

"Keeping to the right, go onwards, Lord, joyful, thrilled, rejoicing, glad, elated, radiating happiness.

"And inasmuch as a thousand musical instruments were played by the devas thronging[9] *the sky above, thou, elated, glad, and eager wilt become a Buddha, unique in the whole world.*

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[1] *Sanghāṭi*, Pali and BSk.

[2] *Paṭa*.

[3] *Cīvara*.

[4] An extract from another version of the story of Kāla.

[5] *Añjaliṃ pragrihītvāna daśapūrṇāngulin*, *i.e.* the *añjali* consisting of the full ten fingers, which is meant to be a description of this form of salutation, *i.e.* the ten fingers put together and raised to the head. See *VvA*. 7, *dasanakhasamodhāna-samujjalaṃ añjaliṃ paggayha*.

[6] *Yathā* with future to express wish. Cf. Greek ὅπως.

[7] *Yathā* with aorist *pravarṣensu* in optative sense, expressing wish. If it were not for the *ca* correlating this with the preceding *yathā* clause, it would be possible to take *yathā* here as meaning "as" or "since," and, as below, introducing reasons for Kāla's conclusions that the Bodhisattva will become a Buddha.

[8] Unless we read *sugatam* for *sugata* and render "thy solitude will be blessed."

[9] *Sphuṭam* (see p. 279, *n.* 1.) should, in sense, agree with the locative *nabhasmi*. As it stands it can be explained only as an adverbial accusative.

" And inasmuch as no other radiance at all shone,[1] *and the heavenly mansions were paled,*[2] *and the earth quaked six times, this day thou wilt become one who is incomparably worthy of offerings.*

" And inasmuch as the devas exultantly waved their garments when the terrible ranks of Māra were broken, and held up sunshades, flags and banners, I have no doubt that to-day thou wilt become a Buddha.

(309) *" And inasmuch as drums sweetly resounded through the sky thus entirely filled with their garments, and the hosts of devas rained down flowers, thou wilt become a Self-becoming One in the world of men and devas.*

" And inasmuch as thousands of exultant devas in the sky reverently[3] *extolled thee, thou wilt become a Buddha, of golden radiance, unique, worthy of offerings, the most eloquent of men."*

Then the Bodhisattva approached the foot of the *bodhi* tree. And at that moment the *bodhi* throne became entirely draped in festoons of fine cloth. Above it were banners and flags. It was adorned with a *koṭi* of sunshades. It was decorated with strings of gems, and it was fragrant with incense. Around it were trees of jewels; it was draped all over with robes, and sprinkled with sandal-wood powder. It sparkled with a sea of jewels.

On that occasion several hundred thousands of devas took up their places in the sky above, and with incense in their hands[4] adored the Bodhisattva. They adored the Bodhisattva with sunshades, banners and flags in their hands; with celestial lotuses;[5] with celestial sandal-wood powder; with celestial powder of gems; with celestial flowers; gazing at him steadily they adored the Bodhisattva. And thus some devas saw the *bodhi* tree as a tree of gold. Others, according to their disposition,[9] saw it as a tree of silver; others as a tree of beryl;

[1] *Bhāyi*, aorist or a Prakrit present. The next clause has *pracalate*, a historic present.

[2] *Jihmavarṇa*, see p. 277, *n*. 3.

[3] Literally, " making the *añjalī*," *kariya añjaliṃ*. *Kariya* (= -*ā*), present participle from *kṛi*. One MS. has *kariyaṃ*.

[4] Literally, " holding," *parigṛihīta*.

[5] Text repeats °*parigṛihītā namasyanti*.

[9] *Svakāye adhimuktīye*.

others as a tree of crystal; others as a tree of emerald; others as a tree of the seven precious stones, and others as a tree of a hundred thousand precious stones. And, according to their disposition, other devas saw the *bodhi* tree as a tree of red sandal-wood; others as a tree of aloe and sandal-wood; others (**310**) as a tree made of the jewel desirable to one or the other[1]; others as a tree of yellow sandal-wood; others as a tree of the lion sandal-wood, and others as a tree of the succulent sandal-wood.[2] And, according to their disposition, some devas saw the *bodhi* tree as a tree of iron sandal-wood;[3] others as a tree of celestial aloe and sandal-wood; others as a tree of precious gems. Other devas saw the *bodhi* tree adorned with every jewel; others saw it sparkling with precious gems; others saw it adorned with celestial blue beryl; others saw it sparkling with gems of white coral; others with gems of emerald; others with gems of "elephant-stone;[4] others with gems of . . .;[5] others with gems of *suprabhāsa*;[6] others saw it adorned with gems of everlasting emerald;[7] others with "full-moon[8] stones"; others with "beautiful moon[9] stones"; others with "sunshine[10] stones"; others saw it sparkling with crystal; others saw it adorned with "valiant-sun[11] stones"; others with "moonshine[12] stones"; others with "brilliant-light[13] stones"; others with "lightning-flash[14] stones"; others with precious stones scintillating in all their parts;[15] others with precious stones gleaming like pearls;[16] others with precious stones of irresistible light;[17] others with a mass[18] of precious

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[1] *Parasparasya vāñcchitaratnamayam.*
[2] ? *Rasacandana.*
[3] *Girisāracandana.* *B.R.* and *M.W.* give *girisāra* as meaning "iron."
[4] *Hastigarbha.* See p. 284, *n.* 1.
[5] Lacuna in text.
[6] "Brilliantly effulgent," but this is applicable to any precious stone.
[7] *Amritāśmagarbha.*
[8] *Samantacandra,* a stone in which one is supposed to see the full moon.
[9] ? *Sucandra.*
[10] *Sūryobhāsa.*
[11] ? *Sūryavikrānta*, but it is possible that this is a mistake for *sūryakānta* "sun-loved," the name for a certain crystal which gave out heat when exposed to the sun. See p. 297.
[12] *Candrobhāsa.* Perhaps another name for *candrakānta,* analogous with *sūryakrānta.* Cf. also *candropala, śaśimaṇi,* and *śaśikānta.*
[13] ? *Jyotiprabhāsa.*
[14] ? *Vidyuprabhāsa.*
[15] *Samanta-āloka,* "with light all round."
[16] *Muktāprabhehi maṇiratnehi.*
[17] *Apratihataprabhehi maṇiratanehi.*
[18] *Samucchraya,* "body," Pali *samussaya.* See Vol. 1, p. 134, *n.* 1.

stones; others with precious stones that were the choicest in the whole world; others with precious gems of *śakrābhilagna*;[1] others with leaves of precious stones; (**311**) others with gems of "snake-stone";[2] others with the *candana-prabha*[3]; others with "red-eye[4] stone"; others with precious gems of *gajapati*;[5] others with gems of *maheśvaradanta*;[6] others with *rasakas*;[7] others with precious gems of *gomedaka*;[8] others with precious gems of "hare-stone";[9] others with precious gems of *lālāṭika*;[10] others with precious gems of *śirigarbha*;[11] others with gems of *tālika*.[12] With them and other precious stems did they see the *bodhi* tree adorned. Those devas, whose root of virtue in consequence of this will be ripened,[12] until they win the supreme enlightenment, viewed[13] the *bodhi* tree in accordance with their root of virtue. For they (variously) saw the *bodhi* tree adorned with strings of blue, red or white pearls; or with necklaces having golden threads; or with ear-rings; or with signet-rings; or with armlets; or with bracelets; or with anklets; or with tiaras; or with ornaments for the hands;[15] or with wristlets;[16] or with wreaths of jewels, of fine cloth, or of flowers; or with bands of gold for the upper arm, necklaces of jewels, ornaments of gold for the neck, wreaths of coral-flowers, strings of swan figurines or of lion figurines,[17] diamonds or svastikas. With these and other celestial adornments did they see the *bodhi* tree adorned.

Those devas whose root of virtue started when they beheld

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[1] The name of a precious stone in *Mvyut.* 134. See *B.R.*

[2] *Uragagarbha.*

[3] Or, "sandal-wood-bright stones."

[4] *Lohitākṣa.*

[5] "Keeper of elephants," "stately elephant." Cf. *hastigarbha*, 284, *n.* 1.

[6] "The lord's tooth."

[7] An inexplicable name. *Rasaka* ordinarily means "broth"!

[8] Cf. Pali *gomattaka*, "a precious stone of light red colour."

[9] *Śaśa*, "hare."

[10] *Lālāṭikā* is an "ornament worn on the forehead" (*M.W.*); possibly this precious stone was so called because of its use in or as such an ornament.

[11] See p. 282, *n.* 7.

[12] *Tālaka* is "a kind of ornament" (*B.R.*). Cf. *tālapatra* (*ibid.*), "a kind of ear-ornament." *Tālika*, of the text, may, or may not, be connected with this word.

[13] *Paripaccisyati*, from Pali pass. *paripaccati*.

[14] *Sañjānensu*, "perceived," "saw," the aorist of the present historic *sañjānanti*, translated "saw" in the preceding passage.

[15] ? *Mudrāhastika.*

[16] ? *Āvāpa.*

[17] *Haṃsadāma* and *siṃhalatā*. Such ornaments are often found depicted in Buddhist architecture.

the *bodhi*-tree, saw it adorned with the adornment befitting their state.[1] Different devas saw the *bodhi* tree adorned with different adornments, as they have been related.

Then some devas saw the *bodhi* tree one *yojana* high; others saw it five *yojanas* high; others ten; **(312)** others twenty; others thirty; others forty; others fifty; and others one hundred. The height of the *bodhi* tree as seen by them was in proportion to their knowledge.[2] Some devas saw the *bodhi* tree one thousand *yojanas* high. Other devas, who in the course of their long lives had served former Conquerors, saw the *bodhi* tree a hundred thousand *yojanas* high. Other devas, who had won escape by means of the root of virtue which they had acquired,[3] saw the *bodhi* tree as high as the highest heaven.[4]

Then some devas perceived at the foot of the *bodhi* tree a throne of all the precious stones, which was celestial, many *yojanas* high, draped in celestial cloth, covered with a network of gold, and adorned with a network of tinkling ornaments. Other devas perceived the throne a hundred thousand *yojanas* high; others one thousand; others two hundred and fifty;[5] others two hundred; others fifty; others forty; others thirty; others twenty; others ten; others four; others three; others two, **(313)** and others one. Other devas perceived the throne at the foot of the *bodhi* tree to be three *kos* high, others two, and others one. Other devas perceived the throne to be seven palm-trees high; others six; others five; others four; others three; others two, and others one. Other devas perceived the throne at the foot of the *bodhi* tree to be as high as seven men; others as high as six men; others as high as five; others as high as four; others as high as three; others as high as two, and others as high as one.

Then the beings who had gross dispositions[6] perceived the Bodhisattva to be seated on a mat of straw, and said, "While

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[1] Literally, "(as) adorned by themselves," *svalaṃkṛitam* for *svālaṃkṛitam*.

[2] Literally, "they saw the *bodhi* tree at a height in accordance with their knowledge," *yathāsvakasvakena jñānena bodhivṛikṣamuccatvena sañjānanti*.

[3] *Abhisañjātakuśalamūlaniryātā*. *Niryāta* is here connected with (*mārga*) *niryānika* (*niyyānika*), "(the way) leading out" *sc*. from rebirth.

[4] *Bhavāgra*, Pali *bhavagga*.

[5] *Aḍḍhatiyayojanaśatāni*. *Aḍḍha-tiya* (Pali), "the third less half."

[6] *Lūkhādhimuktika*. For *lūkha*, see p. 63, *n*. 1.

he is seated on this mat of straw, the Bodhisattva will awaken to the supreme perfect enlightenment."

Then, again, in the presence of the world of devas, men and Asuras, the Bodhisattva approached the *bodhi* tree, and went round it thrice, keeping it to the right. Recalling to mind former Tathāgatas he sat down cross-legged, holding his body erect, and set up mindfulness before his face. Thereupon, as the Bodhisattva was seated at the foot of the *bodhi* tree, his countenance shone, glowed and gleamed, just like the orb of the sun that diffuses its light through the great system of three thousand worlds. In his splendour all the great system of three thousand worlds was paled.[1] Just as (**314**) a burnt pillar, black and inky, in front of a disk of Jāmbūnada gold, does not glow or shine or reflect light, so the great system of three thousand worlds was surpassed by the splendour of the Bodhisattva.

Then the devas, including those of the highest heaven[2] above, saw the Bodhisattva seated. So, too, the devas of earth[3] saw him who was the Bodhisattva. So, too, the devas of the sky, including the Cāturmahārājika devas, the Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, and the devas in the abode of Māra saw the Bodhisattva on the throne. Likewise the Brahmā devas and those in Brahmā's retinue,[4] the devas who were priests of Brahmā,[5] the Mahā-Brahmā devas,[6] the Ābhā devas,[7] the Ābhāsvara devas,[8] the Śubha devas,[9] the Parīttaśubha devas, the Apramāṇaśubha devas, the Śubhakṛitsna devas, the Bṛihatphala devas,[10] the Avṛiha devas,[11] the Atapa

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[1] "Because of broken beauty, colour or light," *jihmavarṇa*. See p. 277, *n*. 3.

[2] *Akaniṣṭha.*

[3] *Bhūmyā devā.* See Vol. 1, p. 34, *n*. 2.

[4] For these devas see Vol. 1, p. 28 and notes; also *D.P.N.* and W. Kirfel's *Kosmographie.*

[5] *Brahmapurohitā devā,* devas inhabiting the lowest but one of the Brahmā worlds. See *D.P.N.*

[6] Those occupying the highest place in the Brahmā worlds. See *D.P.N.*

[7] 'Brilliant' devas in general.

[8] See Vol. 1, p. 44, *n*. 1.

[9] A group of Brahmā devas, including the Parīttaśubhā, the Apramāṇa-(Appamāṇa-) śubhā, and Subhakṛitsnā (Subhakiṇhā).

[10] Pali Vehapphala, "one of the Brahmā worlds of the Rūpaloka plane." (*D.P.N.*)

[11] Pali Avihā. "Their world ranks among the five foremost of the *Rūpa*-worlds, the Suddhāvāsā." (*D.P.N.*)

devas,[1] the Sudarśana devas,[2] and the devas of Akaniṣṭha saw the Bodhisattva on his throne. And all those beings standing on the confines of the great system of three thousand worlds, who were endowed with the root of virtue, saw the Bodhisattva on his throne. Those who had planted the root of virtue[3] through rendering service to former Conquerors, and had thoroughly mastered the world of desire,[4] did not see or become aware of Māra, as, through the power of the Bodhisattva, they honoured and worshipped him.

But wicked Māra perceived that his own power was eclipsed[5] and that the whole great system of three thousand worlds was turning towards the Bodhisattva. The Great Being reflected[6] on this,[7] and said, " I shall not awaken to the supreme perfect enlightenment until I vanquish wicked Māra who has come in arms with his host, so that it may be well understood of men[8] that Māra has been quelled by him who has won enlightenment, and that the Bodhisattva (**315**) is eager to show his strength in a marvellous feat of magic[9] before the world of men and devas, who will say, ' The Bodhisattva has attained firmness, strength, force, and magic power.' Learning of me they will produce the thought of the supreme perfect enlightenment."

Then wicked Māra, unhappy, discomfited, pierced by the shaft of grief, and considering the Bodhisattva to be a rival

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[1] Pali Atappā, " a class of devas belonging to the Suddhāvāsā. (*D.P.N.*)

[2] Cf. Pali Sudassā, " a Brahmā-world, one of the Suddhāvāsā." (*D.P.N.*)

[3] *Avaruptakuśalamūla.* The participle *avarupta,* which recurs in the same connexion at 3. 406 (text) is a hybrid form. The sense demands that it be referred to the root *ruh,* " to grow," caus. *ropayati* (Pali *ropeti*), " to plant," but formally it has been confused with another Pali *ropeti,* caus. of the pass. *rūhati,* " to be broken." In form the latter is referable to *rundh, rumbh* or *rudh,* and its causative may be an indirect formation from one of these forms, or more likely a direct representative of *rup* = *lup* (*lump*). (See *P.E.D.*) It is instructive to note that two MSS. of the *Mhvu.* have here *avalupta. Avarupta* must, therefore, be regarded as a restoration of the past participle of the radical verb underlying *ropeti,* but the wrong *ropeti* was chosen. In Vol. 1, p. 1, the correct form of the past part. caus., *avaropita* is used with *kuśalamūla.* The *ava* is not easy to explain. Perhaps it is due to the frequent occurrence of *oropeti* (*o* = *ava*) in Pali, and sometimes in contexts which make it difficult to decide whether the form *ropeti* is the first or the second of the two referred to above. On p. 270 (text) of Vol. 1 we have *āropita,* " made to grow," applied to *kuśalamūla.*

[4] *Kāmadhātuparyāpanna.*

[5] *Dhyāma.* See Vol. 1, p. 36, *n.* 1.

[6] *Pratisaṃśikṣati,* Pali *paṭisañcikkhati* (from *khyā*), in same sense.

[7] *Imam,* neut., for *idam.*

[8] Literally, " may not be a thing of no wonder," *mā bhaveyā anāścaryam.*

[9] *Ṛiddhiprātihārya,* Pali *iddhipāṭihāriya.*

king,[1] equipped his army of four arms, which occupied[2] an area of several *yojanas*, and advanced to the *bodhi* tree to see the Bodhisattva. But he could not bear to look on the Bodhisattva and his gaze wavered, for fear that[3] the latter would show his face with all the power that was his. If this great adamantine system of three thousand worlds were great mountains, the Bodhisattva would shake this system as though it were the tiniest atom of dust, and would hurl about the countless elements of the world so that not one tiniest atom of dust should meet with another.

But then the Bodhisattva saw in Māra's host many who had the roots of virtue. For these, seeing that the Bodhisattva was possessed of such magic and marvellous power, had turned their thoughts to the supreme perfect enlightenment. It was through seeing this circumstance that the Bodhisattva waited[4] and said that he would not awaken to the supreme perfect enlightenment as long as Māra and his host were unconquered.

And on that occasion the Exalted One spoke this verse[5] :—

As a Self-becoming One, the king of the Śākyans, the utterly pure being, lovely like a disc of Jāmbūnada gold, and rid of all the lusts, stood at the foot of the bodhi *tree.*

The regions of the world were bathed in radiance, while Māra became terrified and distressed. (**316**) *"Verily," said he, "what will become of me? I find no joy in this mansion*[6] *of mine.*

"Once all those ethereal mansions were finest palaces of sandal-wood, of crystal and coral, with strings of gold. May I not have to leave[7] *this place to-day.*

"The abundant windows were bright half-moons; the

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[1] Literally, "caused an awareness of a rival king to be present in the Bodhisattva," *pratirājasaṃjñāṃ bodhisatve upasthāpetvā*. The translation follows Senart's interpretation of the phrase, but it might, perhaps, be equally well rendered by "showed himself to the Bodhisattva as a rival king."

[2] *Haritvā*. It does not seem necessary to regard this as a Prakrit form of *bharitvā*, as Senart does.

[3] *Saced.*

[4] *Āgameti*, "wait," "stay (from)," causative of *āgacchati*. Cf. Pali.

[5] Not the verse (or verses) following, which is rather yet another account of the incidents attending enlightenment, including the assault by Māra.

[6] *Vimāna.*

[7] *Mā cyaviṣyam*. *Mā* with fut. indic. to express negative wish, an extension of its use to express negative purpose. *Cyaviṣyaṃ* is either for *cyaviṣyāmi* with the "*i*" elided before the following *ito*, or a Prakrit form, cf. Pali Atm. ending *-ssam*. It can hardly be the conditional tense.

chambers within were overlaid with white coral. There was the incomparable radiance of the world's sun. But what will happen to-day?

"The diadem has been torn from my head, and to-day my fair radiance is departed. My Apsarases have stayed their chorus. May I not have to leave this place to-day.

"As the mansions of the sky[1] *have their light broken*[2] *by Jāmbūnada gold, so are these mansions, these celestial mansions eclipsed*[3] *now that the Bodhisattva has appeared."*

And Māra saw the Exalted One, the Self-becoming, seated like an irresistible lion, (**317**) *the essence of purity, the choicest of the world's beings. He shone like a pillar of Jāmbūnada gold.*

Devas stood in the sky, wearing necklaces of pearls, sparkling with golden shells, and lovely. Enraptured they brought strings of golden ornaments and bedecked the bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

On the bodhi *tree were bright svastikas and half-moons interspersed with figurines of lions.*[4] *Joyfully the devas brought gems of "lightning-flash stones,"*[5] *wherewith they bedecked the* bodhi *tree.*

They brought gems of "moon-stone,"[6] *of "sun-crystal,"*[7] *of "sun-stone,"*[8] *and bedecked the* bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

They brought gems gleaming like pearls, resplendent and lovely to behold, and rejoicing, glad and enraptured they bedecked the bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

They brought precious gems of "full-moon stones"[9] *in a rope of jewels glittering and lovely.* (**318**) *They brought precious gems of* gomedaka,[10] *and bedecked the* bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

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[1] *Vyome vimānā.* Sc. the sun and moon. The figure is somewhat obscure, but apparently the allusion is to the distortion of light as reflected by gold.

[2] *Kṛitajihmavarṇa.* The frequency of the expression *jihmavarṇa,* "of crooked beauty or light," in these verses is remarkable.

[3] *Jihma,* here, perhaps, for *jihmavarṇa.* Otherwise, "awry" simply.

[4] *Simhīlatā.* See p. 292, *n.* 17.

[5] ? *Vidyuprabhā.* Cf. *vidyuprabhāsa,* p. 291, *n.* 14.

[6] *Candraprabhā.* Cf. p. 291, *n.* 12.

[7] *Sūryakānta.* See p. 291, *n.* 11.

[8] *Vairocana.*

[9] ? *Samantacandra.* Cf. p. 291, *n.* 8.

[10] See p. 292, *n.* 8.

Others brought precious gems of bright "red-eye stones"[1] *and pure gems of* śirigarbha[2] . . .[3] *and bedecked the* bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

They brought gleaming coral,[4] *bright and beautiful* maheśvara[5] *gems and* karketana[6] *gems, and bedecked the* bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

With dark-blue, white and red pearls, bright and beautiful, did they, enraptured and thrilled, bedeck the bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

They brought precious gems of jyotika[7] *which outshone in splendour the moon and sun ; they brought precious gems of* viśesaprāpṭa.[8]

Clear-eyed and rejoicing, standing in the sky full of magic power, they brought[9] *bright and beautiful "nāga stones,"*[10] *and bedecked the* bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

Thousands of Brahmās came to the bodhi *throne,* (319) *and the deva Śakra, lord of the Guhyakas,*[11] *too ; the devas who had seen former saviours of the world came to bow before the Self-becoming One.*

The Ābhāsvara devas came, the Śubha devas, the Subhakṛitsna devas . . . ,[12] *the Bṛihatphala devas, the Atapa devas, the Sudarśana devas and the Akaniṣṭha devas, and bedecked the* bodhi *tree of the Exalted One.*

The whole bodhi *tree was covered over and shed a thousand infinite rays. The whole Buddha-field was ablaze with celestial gems and outshone all the thousand*[13] *world systems.*

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[1] *Lohitākṣa.* Cf. p. 294, *n.* 2.

[2] See p. 282, *n.* 7.

[3] Lacuna.

[4] *Raktāngī.* Senart supports his reading here by citing *raktāgī* given in *B.R.* as meaning "coral."

[5] Cf. *maheśvaradanta*, p. 296. *n.* 6.

[6] Cf. Sk. *karka,* Pali *kakka,* "a precious stone of a yellowish colour." (*P.E.D.*)

[7] Cf. *jyotiprabhāsa*, p. 291, *n.* 13.

[8] Meaning something like "(a stone) of distinction."

[9] Reading *gṛihya* for *guhyā* of the text. Although the latter could be explained as another form of the name of the Guhyakas who are mentioned a little later on, a verb is required here to govern *nāgamaṇīm* in the acc. As for the short second syllable resulting, there are other instances of it in this verse passage. Our text also has many instances of the gerund in *-ya* when the verb is uncompounded.

[10] ? "Elephant-stone." Cf. p. 284, *n.* 1.

[11] See Vol. 1, p. 84, *n.* 2.

[12] Lacuna.

[13] Reading *sahasrāṃ* for *sahāṃ*.

And this, they say, was the thought of the Son of Sloth:[1] *"May he not remove me from my seat. So let him be the king of devas, for there is not his equal in the whole world.*

"Let him be, too, the Buddha, the sovereign of dharma; let the mansions be empty of devas.[2] *For he shows the way to bliss, calm and peace. Let me no more have the sovereignty.*

"The Buddha-field will be crowded.[3] *Ye* koṭis *of Māras*[4] *who are assembling,*[5] **(320)** *with mail and armour accoutred, be not remiss when the battle is joined."*

And when he had thus rallied his host Māra advanced to the noble lord of trees. Then the Dark One saw the Bodhisattva like a thousand suns in the sky.

Thus did he reflect in his wavering heart: "He cannot be defeated by me, for he has brought into the world the priceless jewel[6] *and has begotten a disposition that makes him indifferent to a kingdom."*

Then bringing celestial powder of fair sandal-wood, precious stone of Jāmbūnada, and celestial choice perfumes he excitedly showered them on the Bodhisattva.

Throwing his robe over one shoulder and raising his joined hands, he knelt on the ground to the Bodhisattva's right. Thrilled, but steadily gazing at him, he on that occasion sang the praises of the Bodhisattva.

"Thou art without a peer in beauty, Virtuous One; none equal to thee in beauty can be found. **(321)** *Mindful, worshipped by devas, the pre-eminent hero in the world, thou standest at the foot of the tree.*

"There is none equal to thee in the world, far less a greater one, whether deva, Nāga or man. Thou dost dominate with thy glory all quarters of the world, like the moon in the sky emerging from a cloud.

"Enjoy now[7] *the things that thou shouldst honour, the seven superb and most excellent treasures.*[8] *Wield sovereignty,*

[1] *Pramattabandhu, i.e.* Māra. Cf. *BudvA.* 288.

[2] *I.e.* the *vimānas* were temporary sojourning places until the Nirvana described in the next clause was attained.

[3] *Utsadaprāpta.* For this sense of *utsada,* see Vol. 1, p. 6, *n.* 1.

[4] *I.e.* Māra's followers.

[5] *Saṃyojayanto,* active participle for passive.

[6] *Sc.* of dharma.

[7] Reading *tāva* for *tavā* of the text which is inconstruable, even if it is for *tava.* Cf. use of *tāva* in Pali to convey an emphatic command.

[8] *I.e.* the seven treasures of a Cakravartin.

dwell on the earth as a king over the four continents, and treat wealth with contempt.[1]

"Viewing the regions thou hast won, proud and of infinite power, thou dost surpass in radiance[2] *thousands of devas, as a disk of gold surpasses a burnt-out pillar.*

"O Choicest Being, thy body covered with the thirty-two marks glitters. Abiding diligent on thy throne thou shalt shine[3] *and rule*[4] *over men as fathers over their sons.*

"Thou shalt control[5] *under thy sovereignty the four continents. But here thou wouldst have no dominion. With the magic power at thy command thou shouldst go forth into the world. I shall be thy disciple, like an only son.*

"Sporting with a thousand women, (322) *like a king of the devas possessed of glory and magic power, I shall grant thee the seven treasures. O Wise One, become a universal king.*

"Thou shalt have a thousand sons, brave, heroic, powerful, comely of limb, routers of the armies of their foes, and thou shalt conquer this world up to the confines of ocean.

"And now behold how these many daughters of Māra[6] *carrying flowers of fair sandal-wood stand in the sky in front of us, clothed in pure garments and accomplished in music and the arts.*

"With lutes, cymbals, tabours, conch-shells, flutes, trumpets,[7] sambhārikas,[8] nakulakas,[9] *and* kiṃphalas,[10]

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[1] *Ratnā paribhavāhi.* If this sense of the verb is the right one here, we would at first sight expect the negative *mā*, "do not disdain"; as it stands the meaning must be that as a king the Bodhisattva would have so much wealth that he would not need to desire more. But, perhaps, the verb is to be taken in another of its senses, "to encompass."

[2] *Ābhā*, instrumental for *ābhayā*.

[3] *Sobhāsi*, subjunctive.

[4] *Praśāsi*, optative.

[5] *Vasi*, optative. These three verbs express a "wish" or "modified command," which in English can be rendered by the future indicative.

[6] As Senart remarks in his Introduction (p. xxxii, note) the appearance of Māra's daughters here is not appropriate to the context; it is an interpolation, badly placed, from the story of the Buddha's temptation by Māra's daughters after their father had failed.

[7] *Sughoṣaka*. See Vol. I, p. 183, *n.* 3.

[8] A conjecture by Senart, the only merit of which, he says, is that it fits the metre. He has given it the same form at its occurrence on p. 159 (text) as the name of some unidentified musical instrument.

[9] For *nakula*, see p. 154, where its occurrence in *Lal. Vist.* 252 is referred to.

[10] There does not seem to be any reference elsewhere to a musical instrument of this name.

they now[1] *sing in chorus*[2] *at the foot of the tree.*

"Other (devas) stand floating in the air and shower down powder of the fair sandal-wood and of the precious stone of Jāmbūnada. They are all thine.

"O prince, take thy joy in thy superb palace, amid the sounds of bravoes, of drums, conch-shells and cymbals. Enjoy flowers, perfumes, and ointments, (323) *and there I will be thy attendant.*

"The wheel, the elephant, the lovely-maned horse, the rare jewel beryl,[3] *the excellent woman, the armed treasurer, the counsellor—these treasures are thine.*

"O prince, dwelling under thy rule, I shall be eager to listen to thy gentle speech, and when I have hearkened to thy words I shall be happy. In that state I shall not speak untruth.

"Taking my stand on the truth I should win me a lovely body, distinguished, covered with marks of excellence. Then (should I) appear radiant with signs and characteristics, O thou that art covered with the marks of excellence."

The Bodhisattva, as he looked out at all the regions around, uttered this consummate speech in his entrancing and sweet-sounding voice. "Listen, Yakṣa,"[4] *said he, "to the words I speak.*

"I shall become a king of the whole world when I have awakened to the enlightenment, which is self-control, peace, and calm. My sons shall be those alert men who will hearken to me and do my bidding.

"And I shall have seven rare treasures (324) *when I have awakened to the supreme enlightenment. But they will be the seven* bodhyangas[5] *taught by former Conquerors. He who has mastered them becomes alert.*

"And when I have got to know the four bases of magic power,[6] *the right standard of meditation,*[7] *and have*

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[1] The text has *tada* = *tadā*, "then," which is further proof that the passage is interpolated. The context requires "now."

[2] *Upagīyamāna*, pass. in mid. sense.

[3] The "jewel," which was the fourth of the Cakravartin's "seven treasures," does not seem to be specified elsewhere.

[4] *I.e.*, Māra.

[5] See p. 142, *n.* 3.

[6] *Ṛiddhipāda*, Pali *iddhipāda*. "They are the making determination in respect of concentration on purpose, on will, on thoughts and on investigation." (*P.E.D.*)

[7] *Dhyānapramāṇa*.

attained[1] *the all-knowing truths, I shall be triumphant over the regions of the world.*

" The pleasures of the senses are despicable, without happiness, and the discerning man will see no profit[2] *therein. For that is the way to the hell of the brutes, to the world of Yama with its many ghosts.*

" Those whose desires are wrong, who delight in lust, are utterly sunk in darkness, are without sight and bereft of light —such are the men who pursue sensual desire.

" It is a foul-smelling, fetid, ignoble thing. Pure men take no delight therein. The fool may turn[3] *his own peculiar thoughts thereto, but the wise man will not set his heart thereon.*[4]

" As when during a thunderstorm[5] *the lightning strikes a field of luxuriant ripe rice,* (325) *so because of sensual pleasures do states of the highest good become fruitless.*

" Worldlings,[6] *indeed, pursue what is base ; blind and unawakened they are excited by passion ; they are excited because their minds are unawakened. The Bodhisattva will not allow himself to feel*[7] *the craving of desire.*

" As when at the dissolution of a Buddha field,[8] *while the sun blazes in the sky, its genial heat turns it to cinders and ashes, so do states of purity destroy desires of sense.*

" As when a prince has got rid of his foe he can enjoy freedom, glory and prosperity, so may one who does not pursue the base delights of the senses win the good proclaimed by the Conqueror.

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[1] *Abhiprāpto*, the past part. pass. must here be taken in an active sense, unless we read *°prāptvā*. The participle in *tvā* with compounded verbs, though against classical Sk. usage, is found in Pali.

[2] *Ānisaṃsa*. On the score of metre Senart prefers this Pali form to the BSk. distortion *anuśaṃsa* found in the MSS. But see p. 337, *n*. 5.

[3] *Naye*. Although there seems to be no parallel for such a use of the verb *nī*, " to lead," Senart says that, on the evidence of the MSS., this is the most probable reading, and he therefore prefers it to some form of the verb *janayati*, " to beget."

[4] Literally, will not beget a " will " or " wish " for, *na jānayi cchandam*. *Jānayi* is aor., in opt. sense, of *jāneti* (= *janeti*, as often in Pali).

[5] *Aśanivaracakram*, adv. acc., " (during) the wheel of a thunderbolt." *Vara* is rather out of place here. Assuming hiatus instead of an elision in the line, we could read *aśanivicakram*, which would correspond to Pali *asanivicakkam*, apparently used in the sense of " fall of the thunderbolt " at *S*. 2. 229, *D*. 3. 44, 47. (See *P.E.D.*)

[6] *Prithagjanā*. See Vol. 1, p. 28, *n*. 8.

[7] Literally, " will (may) not beget," *jane*, opt. of *janeti*.

[8] *Saṃvartanīye buddhakṣetre*. Cf. *saṃvartamāna kalpa*, Vol. 1, p. 43, *n*. 3.

"As when dry excrement burns with a repulsive and most foul smell a king's son is not happy there, so sensual pleasures are vile to the wise.

"As in the last month of summer salt water may cause thirst in men, so does the wretched man, who pursues the pleasures of sense, (**326**) *in his ignorance weave for himself a net of craving.*[1]

"As for the humours in liver, kidneys and lungs[2] *and the other secretions that arise in the body and run out through openings on its surface, the wise man will have*[3] *no joy therein.*

"There are mucus, spittle, rheum, phlegm, bile, attended by headache; they flow without ceasing, unclean and vile; the wise man will have no joy therein.

"Because of sensual desire men suffer manifold woes in headlong ruin,[4] *in states of ill. As beans and pulse when gathered into a pot, so do men shrivel up in the hells.*

"Their bodies are hacked here and there with knives, or, again, cleaved with spears and arrows. The foolish commit undesirable deeds in three ways.[5] *Let the Bodhisattva never find his pleasure therein.*

"He who through lack of understanding generates a craving for sensual pleasures, is carried away and deluded by forms. Thus he of himself seeks after the source of the disease that brings ill, just as a jackal seeks a corpse in the cemetery.

" (**327**) *O Son of Darkness, do not, in order to delude me, sing the praises of sensual pleasures which are so despised by the wise. As he would a trench full of burning coals, so should the Bodhisattva shun the pleasures of sense.*

"For if he had pursued the pleasures of sense he would not have gained this spot which is crowded with birds and full of trees; no more could he, if he had pursued the pleasures of sense have his body covered[6] *with the marks of excellence.*

"But by guarding virtue and the unblemished holy life and following after the Buddhas, with passion extirpated,

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[1] *Jālatriṣṇā*, cf. Pali *jālataṇhā*, *Dhs.* 1059, 1136.

[2] *Phuṣphasa* for regular Sk. *phupphasa*.

[3] "Will beget," *jana* (? *sic*) for *jane*, as immediately below in the same verse repeated.

[4] *Prapatiṣu*. Senart assumes here and below (p. 333 text) a stem *prapati*, "falling forward," as synonymous with *durgati*.

[5] *Trividham*, *sc.* in act, thought, and word.

[6] Reading *sphuṭaṃ* for *sphuṭa*.

and rid of the lusts, and having, after many a koṭi *of* kalpas, *developed forbearance, his person becomes distinguished.*

"In former lives I was of flawless virtue and endowed with calm, ever alert, making clean the manifold endless Way, and to-day I will win the noble supreme enlightenment."

Then Sārthavāha,[1] *Māra's son, who was well-disposed to the Exalted One, and alert, stood in front of his father and spoke to him. "Listen, father," said he, "to the words I speak. Do not breed distrustful hate.*[2]

"When this peerless, virtuous man was born, the earth with its rocks shook six times (328). *The ten quarters of the world were all lit up. Celestial musical instruments gave forth music without anyone playing them.*[3]

"Devas held up celestial sunshades, and the Buddha-field was overspread with banners and flags. Throngs of gods[4] *and hosts of devas waved their garments. Noble men became alert.*

"He will become the eye of the whole world,[5] *a light dispelling the darkness. He will scatter the darkness shrouding those who are in misery. Do not, in thy feeble understanding, nurture distrust of him.*

"For he will become a shelter for the whole world, a protection, an island,[6] *a refuge, and a rest.*[7] *Those men and devas who put not their trust in him pass to the terrible hell of Avīci.*

"He is without a peer in the world, worthy of offerings. He is ever beneficent and compassionate to the world. When all men and women realise this they will become blessed here in all the world.

"But he who nurtures a mind distrustful of him who is endued with merit, who has shed his passions, the Śākyan

[1] The introduction of this name, known also in *Lal. Vist.* as Māra's son, unduly prolongs the pāda, and it is likely that, as Senart says, it is a later interpolation, the subject of the sentence being originally merely the *sa kriṣṇabandhu* of the next pāda. The latter is usually an epithet of Māra himself, but as Kṛiṣna by itself often stands for Māra, in this context Kṛiṣṇabandhu must be taken as Māra's son.

[2] *Doṣaṃ aprasādaṃ.*

[3] "Unstruck," *aghaṭṭita.*

[4] *Marugaṇā.*

[5] *Cakṣur . . . sarvaloke.* See Vol. 1, p. 37, *n.* 1.

[6] *Dvīpa.* See Vol. 1, p. 280, *n.* 1.

[7] *Parāyaṇa* (and *parāyana*), Paḷi and BSk. With this passage cf. *S.* 4. 315 *f.*

lion, verily, there will be no prosperous state for him. And when he passes away he will forthwith pass to the bourne of ill.

(329) *" He could scatter this brave host*[1] *and, lifting and tossing thee out of the ocean, he could toss countless fields. In strength there is no army equal*[2] *to him.*

" He, firmly resolute and alert, could dry up all the water of the flowing sea, the ocean home of the Asuras, with all its surrounding splendour. Surely, he can triumph over all Māra's host.

" He could overcome Brahmā, Śakra, Guhyakas, Nāgas, Suras, men and Mahoragas. As a disk of gold (outshines) a burnt-out post, so could the Conqueror with his massive body eclipse[3] *Nārāyaṇa.*[4]

" He could grasp a noble mountain of Cakravāḍa in the hollow of his hand and make it so much dust. The hero, firmly resolute and alert, who has gone to the foot of the bodhi *tree, can not be swayed.*

" The moon would fall from the sky to earth, and the earth of itself stand[5] *in the sky ; all rivers would flow upstream, sooner than this firmly resolute man could be swayed.*

(330) *" As a six-tusked Nāga, mighty lord of elephants, sixty years old, and stately of body could with its foot coolly smash a pot of unbaked clay, just so could he, the Bodhisattva, deal with Māra's army."*

But Māra, discomfited, thus replied to Sārthavāha : " Why fearest thou ? Be not as one of little understanding. My host is equipped, mailed and armoured. We will put an obstacle in the way of the firmly resolute one.

" He whom for thousands of years I have brought up, he, my eldest son, now deserts me.[6] *Now is he become a follower of Gotama, ready to ruin Māra and his host."*

[Sārthavāha answered :]

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[1] *Camū.* This word is used of Māra's army on p. 260 (text), see p. 246, *n.* 3. But Senart says that his restoration of the word here is wholly conjectural.

[2] *Samo* (*sic*) with neuter *sainyam.*

[3] *Pīḍe.*

[4] See p. 287, *n.* 4.

[5] *Sthihi* aor. (in pot. sense) of *sthihati*, a Prakrit form of *sthā* often found in our text.

[6] *Uccajati* = *uttyajati*. Cf. Pali *cajati*.

"As the beautiful, bright and sweet-smelling flower but rarely[1] *grows on the flowering fig-tree, just so do these Buddhas, who have shed their passions and are rid of the lusts, only appear after* nayutas *of* koṭis *of* kalpas.

"It is out of pity that I would have my unbelieving[2] *father who has gone wrong in morals,*[3] *believe.*[4] *For it is the nature of sons to act so. I am compassionate, not unfriendly.*

"It would be easier[5] *for a man who climbed to the summit of Sumeru* (**331**) *and thence threw himself down to the ground, to ensure safety for his body when he fell, than it would be for one who showed unkindliness to the Bodhisattva.*

"It would be easier for a feeble-minded man who fell into a trench full of glowing coals to ensure safety for his body when he fell, than it would be for one who showed unkindliness to the Bodhisattva.

"It would be easier for a man who should take a sharpened and whetted knife, put it in his mouth and withdraw it, to ensure his safety and win good luck than it would be for one who dealt harshly with the Bodhisattva.

"It would be easier for a man walking on a road set with razors for a thousand or a koṭi *of years to ensure his safety and have good luck, than it would be for one who dealt harshly with the Bodhisattva.*

"It would be easier for a foolish man who drank molten copper to ensure his safety, though his inwards, his liver, kidneys and lungs were pierced, than it would be for one who dealt harshly with the Bodhisattva.

"It would be easier for a man who swallowed a red-hot

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[1] "Rarely" is not in the text here, but is supplied from the frequent comparison between the rarity of the flowering of this tree (*udumbara*) and the rarity of the appearance of Buddhas. See *e.g.* Vol. 1, p. 90.

[2] *Aśraddadhanta.* Cf. p. 310, *n.* 8.

[3] *Vipannaśīla, cf.* Pali *vipannasīla. V.* 1. 63; 2. 4; *J.* 3. 138.

[4] Literally, "I would make him take faith," *grāheya śraddhām* (for *śuddham* of the text. So Senart).

[5] The comparison in the text is expressed by the simple expedient of setting the two statements side by side, and negativing the second. Thus *ātmānaṃ muñceya . . . saukhyaṃ labheya,* "he could throw himself and win safety" . . . *na ahitāni kṛitvā,* "(but) not having done unkind things." At first sight the negative clause would seem to be conditional in force, *i.e.* that a man could perform dangerous deeds in safety if he had not been unkind to the Buddha. But the interpretation offered in the translation is more appropriate to the context than to see here an allusion to the miracle-working power of faith. His son is concerned with warning Māra of the dangers consequent upon attacking the Bodhisatva.

ball of iron to ensure his safety, though his stomach were on fire, and his liver, kidneys and lungs pierced, (**332**) *than it would be for one who dealt harshly with the Bodhisattva.*

"It would be easier for a man on whom a rock as big as Cakravāḍa was thrown from the sky, falling on his head, to ensure his safety and have good luck, than it would be for one who dealt[1] *harshly with the Bodhisattva.*

"It would be easier for a man upon whose body glowing embers, knives and axes were thrown from the sky, to ensure his safety and have good luck, than it would be for one who dealt harshly with the Bodhisattva.

"Thou couldst hold this system of the thousand worlds in thy hand for koṭis *of* kalpas, *and know the varied thoughts of men, more easily than*[2] *thou couldst remove this sage from his couch.*

"It would be possible for a mass of fire to blaze in the middle of the flowing ocean of water, with a ruddy column of smoke as high as Sumeru, sooner than it would be possible to remove this sage from his couch.

"Endued with virtue, peerless, having of yore attained perfection[3] *in calm, in austerities, and in devotion, the Conqueror, like an impetuous maned king of beasts, roars his roar at Māra's host.*

(**333**) *"As a man blind from birth reels along without vision,*[4] *ignorant of direction, and falls into a large hole, so, O Māra, will it be with thy army.*

"Behold, father, how these devas, comely of form and meritorious of karma, exultantly besprinkled the Bodhisattva with powder of fair sandalwood.

"The whole world is full of devas who have left all their mansions, and gathered here. Standing in the sky they have scattered[5] *powder of flowers; joyfully they have besprinkled the Bodhisattva.*

"Do not thou, whose intelligence is great, breed evil

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[1] *Phṛitva* (*sic*) for *kṛitvā*.
[2] *Na*, simply, see p. 306, *n.* 5.
[3] *Pāraprāpta*, cf. *pāramīprāpta*, Pali *pāramippatta*.
[4] Reading *akṣī asamprāpto* for *samprāpto* of text.
[5] *Okiri* (*avakiri*) aorist sg. for pl., the verb is repeated in the next clause in the (historic) present, *okiranti*.

thoughts. For the great Leaders of Caravans[1] *are hard to assail. My father would emerge discomfited, wretched, in misfortune, in ruin, in rags from the dust-heap.*

" But as for those who beget love and reverence for him and those who go to his refuge, they all, ere long, leaving this plane of woe, will attain agelessness and grieflessness."

Then Janīsuta,[2] *of great understanding, brought bright and charming flowers in his hands and showered them on the choicest Being in the whole world. He said to his father* **(334)** *" He could reduce all thy army to ashes.*

" As when a blind man, having got a treasure, would have no joy because he could not see it,[3] *so having known*[4] *him who is greatly worthy of offerings, thou, Son of Sloth, dost breed distrust of him.*

" As a foolish man who, when a shower of gold in pieces the size of a dice rains upon him in his house, should be incensed and go out, saying, ' I'll be killed,' just so is my father who will not abide the Great Seer.

" As a man who, having gained a mansion of sandal-wood, sweetly-scented, bright and lovely, should step out of it and fall into a pit, so is my father who will not abide the Great Seer.

" As a man who should rise up from his seat in a bejewelled, bright and radiant mansion and, going out, should fall into a trench of burning coals, so is my father who will not abide the Great Seer.

" As a man who, having got a palace of Jāmbūnada gold, bright and beautiful, should wander forth and fall into the sea, so is my father who will not abide the Great Seer.

" As a man who should take off his necklace of gold **(335)** *from his neck and wear a copper one when he goes abroad, just so, Son of Sloth, having known the Seer who is worthy of offerings, thou dost breed distrust of him.*

" As a man who should refuse a goblet of ambrosia and in his folly drink a goblet of poison, just so dost thou, having

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[1] *Sārthavāhā, sc.* Buddhas.

[2] Another son of Māra, apparently mentioned only here.

[3] "There would not be joy in it not being seen," *apaśyamāne na bhaveya toṣa.* It is strange that Senart should have read *doṣa* here for *toṣa,* which suits the context and is the reading of at least one MS.

[4] "Received" *labdhvā.*

known him who is greatly worthy of offerings, in thy sloth, breed distrust of him.

"*As a man who, having bright dark-blue eyes, should himself pluck them out, so dost thou, Son of Sloth, having known the Sage who is worthy of offerings, breed distrust of him.*

"*O Māra, guard*[1] *thy mindfulness. Accept this fair celestial string of pearls,*[2] *which illumines the quarters of the world with its radiance. Do not, father, breed distrust of him.*

"(*See*) *how he with his bright beauty lights up this whole world, pervading Meru and Great Cakravāḍa; how he is like a mighty rock in mid-ocean.*

"(*See*) *how he, standing at the foot of the tree has outshone*[3] *the devas on Sumeru summit. It is not through pursuing sensual pleasures that he stands there. O Son of Darkness, do not breed distrust of him.*

"*There is, father, no being in the three worlds* (**336**) *who can be as virtuous as he. As the lord of light that can not be looked at, so is the Sage seated at the foot of the* bodhi *tree.*

"*Like the Conqueror Krakucchanda who sat at the foot of the tree irradiating the four quarters, so is his body covered with the marks of excellence. Do not, father, breed distrust of him* "*And he, the World-saviour who was named Konāka and who with his clear sight dispelled the darkness and irradiated the quarters with his glory, sat here at the foot of the tree. And he who was named Kāśyapa, all-seeing and worthy, sat here, and woke up*[4] *a hero to the supreme enlightenment.*

"*They who in auspicious* kalpas *were saviours of the world, having attained enlightenment, who were sages, devas of devas, of old sat here at the foot of the tree and woke up as heroes to the blest*[5] *supreme enlightenment.*

"*Four thousand Conquerors of old sat here at the foot of the tree, the lord of all that grows. Future beneficent saviours of the world, also, will here attain the noble supreme enlightenment.*"

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[1] *Apacinohi*. Cf. Pali *apacināti* in the second of its two senses, when it = *apacayati*.
[2] *I.e.* the Bodhisattva.
[3] "Surpassed," *abhibhavi*, aor.
[4] *Budhyasi*, aor. 3rd. sg. Cf. *budhyaṇsu* in the next verse.
[5] *Śiva*.

(337) *When he had spoken this verse which is well named*[1] Mahāsmṛiti, *he, elated in heart and moved by a good impulse, threw a string of pearls to Gotama.*

Then Vidyupratiṣṭha,[2] *another son of Māra, holding a celestial, brightly woven garment in his hand, and gazing at the Bodhisattva, the Seer, in elation of heart extolled him on his* bodhi *throne.*

" . . .[3] *There is none equal to thee in the whole world. So, O great Seer, hast thou lived in former lives.*

" Thou hast lived in self-denial from of old for infinite kalpas. *Thou didst renounce thy distinguished royal city, thy troops of elephants, thy horses, and many a goodly chariot. Therefore, O Choicest of beings, thou dost illumine the quarters*[4] *of the world.*

" Thou didst renounce thy wife, and even thy own flesh, thy sons and daughters, thy own eyes, and once[5] *thy own dear head. Therefore thou dost illumine the regions all around.*

" Thou didst renounce bright celestial jewels, and divers mansions bright with plentiful gems, glittering like stars in the sky and flashing like lightning. (338) *Now thou art all radiant in the eyes of men."*

When he had spoken this verse, Vidyupratiṣṭha, the other son of Māra, moved by a noble impulse, threw to the Lord of men thousands of koṭis *of* nayutas *of garments.*

Other well-disposed friends sought to deter Māra[6] *from breeding distrust of the High-minded One. " This Magnanimous One of pure radiance," said they, "the Sage, can no more be moved*[7] *from his throne."*

But the perverse Son of Darkness heeded not[8] *their words,*

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[1] *Varanāmadheyo.* We should expect *°dheyām* to agree with *gāthām.* No work of this title, " Great Mindfulness," is otherwise known. Senart in his Index refers to Vol. I, p. 199 (text), but the word *mahāsmṛiti* there would seem to be a common substantive, simply " great mindfulness " (Vol. I, p. 157), and not necessarily any particular embodiment of " dogma."

[2] Apparently mentioned only here.

[3] Lacuna of the second pāda, and the first being left an imperfect sentence or clause is left untranslated.

[4] *Diśa* for *diśā* or *diśāṃ.*

[5] ? *pūrvam.*

[6] *Tam* = him, *sc.* Māra.

[7] *Cāletum,* act. (caus.) inf. in pass. sense. But *munim,* which is in apposition to *mahatmā,* is acc., or else the *m* is an insertion to avoid hiatus.

[8] *Asaddadhāna,* " unbelieving," a half-Pali, half-Sk. formation from *śraddhā,* cf. Pali pres. part. *saddahāna.* On p. 330 (text) occurs the Sk. form *aśraddadhanta.*

and continued to nourish his jealousy and wrath. Being evil-minded and infatuated he bred his mistrust still more.

Arming hundreds of koṭis *of his followers,*[1] *Māra prepared his great host. Eager then to frustrate the enlightenment, in his folly he nourished his evil thoughts.*

Thousands of nayutas *of* koṭis *of Yakṣas, Nāgas, Asuras, men and Mahoragas,*[2] *and sons of Gandharvas, powerful and strong, approached the tree, the lord of all that grows.*

With a huge and dreadful rock in his hands (**339**), *armoured and mailed, most frightful of aspect, Māra hurled his lightning and threw a thunderbolt as he advanced to the noble lord of trees.*

Carrying swords, arrows, hatchets, knives and sharp-edged razors, with banners flying and with shouts of triumph they advanced against the Lion (and) against the lord of trees.

Lions and tigers, horses and elephants, oxen and bulls, asses and other equine creatures,[3] *and serpents stretching out their venomous fangs advanced against the Bodhisattva.*

Others carried huge firebrands in their hands ; their heads were all lit up, their forms[4] *distorted, appearing flat and broken of nose.*[5] *Māra's army stood at the foot of the* bodhi *tree.*

There were thousands of chariots near the bodhi *tree, with banners and flags and joy-drums,*[6] *glittering with their network, and making clear music. For there were joy-drums at the top of the standards, too.*

Thirty yojanas *all around swarmed with thousands of terrible Yakṣas. Above in the sky, too, in all directions* (**340**) *were Yakṣas of most frightful aspect.*

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[1] Literally, " of Māras," *mārāṇa.*

[2] See p. 283, *n.* 4.

[3] ? *gardābhāśvānyarūpā.*

[4] Or " natures," *vikṛīta-svabhāvā.*

[5] This is a tentative interpretation of an obscure line, which reads *kṣurapracārī ca vibhagnanāsā. Kṣura* has been taken in the sense of " hoof " or " foot," and, associated as it is with *vibhagnanāsā,* it may stand for *kṣuranāsā.* The latter is an expression for " sharp-nosed," *i.e.* " with a nose like a razor," as at *J.* 4. 139. But in view of the other epithet, *vibhagnanāsā,* it is more probably to be taken in the sense of " hoof-nosed," *i.e.* flat-nosed, especially as one MS. reads °*nāsād* (for *nāsā* (?)) *yathā hastapādā.* This appears to be a gloss explaining that the noses were " like hands and feet," *i.e.* flat. *Pracārī,* " appearing " or " manifesting " continues the idea that such features were apparent only, and the result of distortion in the fitful glow of the firebrands.

[6] *Sa-nandighoṣa,* taken as equivalent to *nandī,* Pali *nandi.* (*V.* 3. 108.) See *P.E.D.* Otherwise " merrily rattling " (of the chariots).

Grasping his whetted and sharpened knife the Son of Darkness advanced a furrow's length, and out of his evil heart he thus spoke to the Bodhisattva. "Arise speedily from thy seat," said he.

"Thirty yojanas *all around are swarming with thousands of terrible Yakṣas. Thou canst not, monk, escape anywhere. To-day, I shall rend thee as I would a stalk of reed."*

Then did the Bodhisattva give utterance to a speech that was perfect,[1] *gentle and sweet-sounding. "Though all these beings be*[2] *Māra's creatures, they cannot stir*[3] *a hair of mine."*

[Māra replied :]

"Thou art all alone, Monk, as thou standest at the foot of the tree. Thou hast no host like this of mine. Through whose power should Māra's army not be able to stir a hair of thine?"

[The Bodhisattva replied :]

"In charity, in morality, in forbearance, in energy, in meditation, in the highest wisdom, and in infinite becoming for many koṭis *of* kalpas, *there is none equal to me in all the world.*

"Abiding in love and in compassion (**341**), *living the life that leads to enlightenment*[4] *for the sake of men, when I have awakened to enlightenment I shall win a Buddha's knowledge and I shall set men free.*

"In my former lives, O Son of Darkness, I was of flawless virtue for infinite nayutas *of* koṭis *of* kalpas, *steadfast, unbreakable as a diamond. I am he that to-day will attain the noble supreme enlightenment.*

"However great[5] *thy army be, O Son of Darkness, and though all of them be under thy control and authority, though they stand in armed ranks like Cakravāḍa's range, they cannot stir a hair of mine.*

"Outward signs are devoid of reality ;[6] *my vow has been*

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[1] *Aṣṭāngupeta.*
[2] *Siyu,* pot. 3rd pl., for *syus.* Cf. Pali *siyuṃ.*
[3] *Injitum,* Pali *injati,* Sk. *ingati.*
[4] *Bodhicaryā.*
[5] *Yavanti.* ? for *yavati.*
[6] *Śūnyā nimittā.*

made clear.[1] *In me there is no awareness of being . . .*[2] *no awareness of Māra, nor of harm, and as I am thus conditioned,*[3] *thou hast no power over me, thou evil one.*

"I have no awareness of form, nor of sound, nor of taste, nor of smell, nor of touch.[4] *As I am thus conditioned thou canst not do aught to me, Māra.*

"I have no awareness of the skandhas[5] *nor of the elements.*[6] *But I have made clear my awareness of what is within.*[7] *As the firmament is without existence, so is the nature of all phenomena."*

(**342**) *Then the Bodhisattva with his bright and webbed right hand struck the ground. The whole world quaked six times and there was a fearful roar.*

As if a man should take and beat a clear-sounding vessel of metal, just so did the whole world resound when the Bodhisattva struck the earth.

Māra's host became terrified then, and in their panic they fled for many a yojana, *nor cast a look in any direction, when they saw the Buddha like the king of rays.*[8]

Some flew over the ground in their chariots, like clouds rumbling in the sky. Like elephants floundering in the sea, so were all Māra's stricken hosts.

Devas showered celestial flowers and poured down powder of sandal-wood. Spreading over thirty yojanas *all around they sprinkled flowers of the coral-tree on the Bodhisattva.*

Thousands of devas in the sky waved saffron garments; some threw strings of pearls; (**343**) *others praised him in verse and song, while the discomfited Son of Darkness brooded in silence.*

After a full seven-days the ill-starred host of Māra had, blinded and ignorant of direction, with difficulty reached the verge of a wood, while the Buddha shone like the king of rays.

Hundreds of chariots were dashed to pieces against one

[1] ? *praṇidhī vibhāvitā.*
[2] Lacuna.
[3] *Sthitasya*, "placed."
[4] *Prastavya.* See Vol. 1, p. 284, *n.* 3.
[5] See Vol. 1, p. 58, *n.* 3.
[6] *Dhātū.*
[7] *Adhyātmasañjñā vibhāvitā.*
[8] *Sc.* the sun.

another, and now they saw[1] *the great earth heaving. They fashioned for themselves changed bodies, and assailed the noble lord of trees. But they did not achieve the forms of the heroes of old ;*[2] *they were all forms cowed with fear.*

Like a bird with broken wing on the ground, so lay the Son of Darkness on the surface of the earth. For a full seven-days he, with his might and his host, bewildered and dazed, had not the strength to move.

The devas assuming material form,[3] *all in harmony and thrilled with joy poured down a stream of sandal-wood powder, the size of a dice, celestial and rare. Devas in the sky raised up thousands of* nayutas *of* koṭis *of flags.* (**344**) *The Buddha-field was filled with banners and streamers, when the Bodhisattva struck the ground.*

Celestial music fell on the air, and there were celestial choruses of devas; devas in the sky poured down a rain of flowers, when the Bodhisattva struck the ground.

And all the trees that grew on the earth blossomed with flowers of an infinitely pervading scent. "Empty are all external signs ; my vow has been made clear."[4] *Such was the spontaneous cry he made.*

In the deva mansion that stands above the clouds, in the Nāga's mansion in the sea, and in the strongholds of the Asuras there were entrancing sounds when the Bodhisattva struck the ground.

When the Bodhisattva shed forth the rays from the palm of his good and bright hand they fell on the whole world, excepting the hells, the world of the brutes and Yama's worlds.[5]

When they saw the earth quaking, koṭis *of Māra's followers fell to the ground. They saw the Sage who had achieved enlightenment like a thousand moons in the sky.*

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[1] *Paśyitu i.e. paśyi,* aor. 3rd sg. for pl., + *tu*. One MS. has *paśyantu,* which is impossible here.

[2] *Purāṇāṃ rūpām.*

[3] *Rūpadhāto upagātā.* The first word seems an impossible form from °*dhātu* ; one MS. has °*dhātu*. Read °*dhātum*. For the expression, cf. *na rūpaṃ gaccheyam,* Vol. 1, p. 243 (text).

[4] See p. 313, *n*. 1.

[5] Senart seems to misunderstand this passage. He takes *sthapetva,* "excepting," to mean "leaving," and supplies as the subject of *prapati,* "fell on," *sattvā,* "beings." Hence his translation, "alors quittant les enfers ou la condition animale, les êtres, du monde de Yama, revinrent dans tout l'univers."

(345) *One after the other they strove to rise, but all the more were they stretched out on the ground. Like gaily-coloured cloths thrown from the sky, such, then, was Māra's host.*

The noble Bodhisattva, without a tremor, rid of fear, an incomparable field of merit, who had of old practised the noble highest dharma, shone in the world like the king of rays.

"This is ill," (declared he), "this is the arising of ill. This is the cessation of it and the best Way. When this exists, that appears; when this is destroyed that disappears.

"Ignorance[1] *is the cause of the make-up of coming-to-be.*[2] *This becomes the cause of consciousness.*[3] *Because of consciousness there will come to be*[4] *individuality.*[5] *This becomes the cause of the six faculties of sense.*[6]

"These six faculties of sense thus result in contact.[7] *And contact will become the cause of the feelings. He who feels becomes avid with craving. Because of craving there comes to be grasping.*

"Because of grasping men pass from one life into another.[8] *Hence there come to be birth, old age, death and sickness.* (346) *Sorrows come to be, and lamentations, troubles,*[9] *ill, and despair."*

When the Bodhisattva had investigated the dharma of

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[1] The *Pratītya-samutpāda* (*paṭicca-samuppāda*) formula shows some interesting variations here when compared with the expression of it in other texts, including the *Mhvu.* itself (see p. 267 *f.*) Instead of *avidyāpratyayā saṃskārā* (*avijjā-paccayā saṃkhārā*) we have *avidyā hetu bhavasaṃskṛitasya.* Similarly *sparśa* (*phassa*) is the *hetu* of the *vedanā.* The causal relation is expressed in other instances by *pratyaya* (*paccaya*), and in two instances this is used substantially as a predicate, whence it appears to be regarded as a synonym of *hetu.* In another instance *pratyaya* in the acc. is used as the final member of a compound, with adverbial force, "because of," "as a result of," "conditioned by," etc., as also *hetu* is in two instances.

[2] *Bhavasaṃskṛitasya,* a synonym for *saṃskārā.* (See Vol. 1, p. 99, *n.* 1.)

[3] *Jānana,* a synonym for *vijñāna,* which is used to resume the "chain" in the next line. The use of this synonym would seem to emphasise that *vijñāna,* although rendered by "consciousness," is not a merely passive condition but represents the activity of the embryo life in getting acquainted with things. But this activity is too elemental, as yet, to be called "cognition," which is sometimes used to render *vijñāna.*

[4] *Bhave.*

[5] *Nāmarūpa,* "name-and-form."

[6] *Ṣaḍindriya,* "the six controls (of the senses)" for the usual *ṣaḍāyatana,* see p. 268, *n.* 2.

[7] *Bhavati sparśajātam.*

[8] *Bhavaṃ saṃsaranti.*

[9] The text has *āyāsā,* which Senart prints with a (?). It leaves the line one syllable short. Read *upāyāsā,* the usual term in this formula.

causation,[1] *to his perfect omniscience the cessation of these things became clear. Seeing their nature to be so, he attained the peerless, noble, supreme enlightenment.*

And when the Conqueror had attained the noble supreme enlightenment, the clear, illimitable vision, there went forth to all the regions from one end of the three worlds to the other the unimpeded shout of those who knew.[2]

Countless drums were beaten, and the roar of them was all-pervading. Men and women won freedom from sorrow, and devas, too, Nāgas, men, and Mahoragas.

Śuddhāvāsa devas came, thousands of koṭis *of them, infinite* nayutas. *Stretching forth their joined hands, they extolled the Daśabala who had won through to the beyond.*[3]

" Like the monarch of rocks[5] *in mid-ocean, like Indra's banner, Vaijayanta, on Sumeru's summit, like a thousand suns in the sky, so shines the Conqueror at the foot of the* bodhi *tree.*

" Thou, O Lord of men, hast attained that enlightenment to win which thou didst give gifts in thy former lives, **(347)** *to win which thou didst keep thy morals unblemished, to win which thou didst ensue the highest wisdom.*

" A man of vision, thou art the dispeller of darkness, the repository of what is liable to destruction,[6] *the choicest of beings, the winner of self-dependence, the noble caravan-leader for men ; there is none equal to thee in the whole world.*

" All the universe is illumined by thee, as by the moon when it emerges from a cloud. So does a celestial radiance fall on devas, Nāgas, Suras and Mahoragas.

" It might be possible to raze Sumeru, the monarch of rocks, to the ground, making dust of a hundred like mountains, the fragments made equal to a grain of mustard seed, but it is not possible to dim the Buddha-lustre of the Conquerors.

" One might be able to count the drops in the great ocean of water by taking them in the hand, though there be thousands

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[1] *Pratītyadharma.*

[2] Literally " the shout the knowledge of which was fixed" or " knowledgeable shout," *śabda pravṛittajñāna.*

[3] *Pāraprāpta,* or, " had won perfection." See p. 307, *n.* 3.

[4] *I.e. Sumeru,* cf. below.

[5] ? *vināśadharmanidhāna.*

of koṭis *of them, hundreds of* nayutas, *but one cannot tell the lustre of the Conquerors.*

"It might be possible to know the system of three thousand worlds up to the highest heaven, the whole earth, trees, wind and fire, (**348**) *and count the grasses, creepers, herbs and seeds, but it is not possible to dim all the lustre*[1] *of the Buddha.*

"It might be possible, by piercing the firmament a hundred or a thousand times, to determine the highest point of the sky and all the hundreds of four-quarters, but it is not possible to dim all the lustre of the Buddha.

"It might be possible to count all beings,[2] *the hair on their bodies and the hair on their heads, and their bodies, those which have been and those to come, but it is not possible to dim the lustre of the Conquerors.*

"Beings who have heard of such great worth as this, will devoutly remember the Saviour of the world. Ease will be theirs when they have left the spheres of woe, and ere long enlightenment will be honoured of them."

Again, monks, when the Tathāgata had awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, for a full seven-days he sat alone cross-legged. Then devas of earth, devas of sky, Caturmahārājika devas, Trāyastriṃśa devas, Yāma devas, Tuṣita devas, Nirmāṇarati devas, Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, Mahābrahmā devas, Brahmā devas, devas who were priests of Brahmā, Ābhā devas, Parīttābhā devas, Apramāṇābhā devas, Ābhāsvara devas, Śubha devas, (**349**) Apramāṇaśubha devas, Śubhakṛitsna devas, Vṛihatphala devas, Avṛiha devas, Atapa devas, Sudṛiśa[3] devas, and the Akaniṣṭha devas, for a full seven-days honoured, revered, worshipped, and adored the Tathāgata on his noble *bodhi* throne. And for a full seven-days the whole[4] universe of three thousand worlds became one vision of splendour.

On that occasion the Exalted One uttered these verses :—

For a full seven-days the perfect Buddha, the monument

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[1] Reading *varṇam* for *varṇo*, and so in the next stanza.
[2] Literally "the element of being," *satvadhātu*.
[3] Pali *Sudassā*. Cf. *Sudarśana*, p. 295, *n*. 2.
[4] *Sarvāvati*, fem. of *sarvāvant*, BSk. = Pali *sabbāvant*.

of the whole world, after awakening to the supreme enlightenment did not rise from his seat.

Thousands of koṭis *of devas assembled in the sky, and for a full seven-nights poured down a shower of blossoms.*

Blue lotuses, red lotuses, campaka,[1] *and white lotuses, lovely, thousand-petalled and brilliant, did the devas pour down.*

And Māra was then confounded and with his staff he wrote on the ground, "Vanquished am I by the deva of devas, by the mighty[2] *Sākyan lion."*

The Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati[3] *devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, devas who still abide in a world of sensuous delights,*

Scattered in the sky celestial showers of blossoms, red sandal-wood, celestial aloe, and campaka. *The Buddha-field blossomed with a rain of flowers the size of a dice.*

Thousands of koṭis *of Brahmās assembled in the sky poured down a fine powder of celestial red sandal-wood.*

With the devas of earth were self-luminous Śuddhāvāsa devas; every place, from one quarter to another, swarmed with devas.

The air was filled with sunshades, flags and banners, **(350)** *as they paid highest honour to the glorious perfect Buddha.*

A rich radiance was shed wherewith the Buddha-field was suffused. The highest parts of the world systems became the colour of fire.

The hells became tranquil everywhere in the Buddha-field; burning coals were cooled, and the denizens became happy.

Those beings in hell who had worked out their hellish penalty of woe were forthwith reborn among the devas.

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 172, *n.* 4.

[2] *Tāpin*, in the text. But the reading of one MS., *tāyi*(*ta*), would seem to confirm Kern's statement (*S.B.E.*, xxi, p. 25, *n.* 1) that "the form *tāpin* given in the dictionaries as an epithet of Buddha is but a misread *tāyin*, and further that this is radically the same with Pāli *tādī* (*tādin*)." Burnouf derives it from a supposed Sanskrit *trāyin*, and translates it by "protector" (*ibid.*). But the identification with Pali *tādin*, "such," "of such good qualities" easily explains the use of BSk. *tāyin*, in the sense of "so great," "mighty," *etc.* The word *tāyin* occurs elsewhere in the *Mhvu.*, three times, for example, immediately below (p. 351, text). It is especially frequent in the *Lotus*.

[3] Here denoted by the quasi-synonym *Nirmitā*, as the next are denoted by *Paranirmitā*.

In Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Tapana, Pratāpana and Raurava the fire was quenched by the rays of the Saviour of the world.

In Avīci and in Sanghāta and in the separate[1] *hells, everywhere was the fire quenched by the rays of the Saviour of the world.*

In all the separate hells that are in the world-systems, the fire was quenched by the rays of the Saviour of the world.

Those who in the sphere of the brutes were wont to feed on gory flesh were filled with love by the Buddha, and did no harm to one another.

The bodhi *tree was adorned with sunshades, banners and flags, and covered with minarets*[2] *fashioned by devas.*

All around on the ground away from[3] *the* bodhi *throne were stumps of trees, thorns, potsherds, gravel and pebbles.*

But the bodhi *throne was surrounded by bejewelled ground which the devas of the Buddha-field had fashioned here.*

(**351**) *Thousands of devas stood on the ground carrying censers,*[4] *and worshipped the Guide of the world.*

All the ground beneath[5] *was covered with lotuses, the colour of Jāmbūnada gold, which sprang up*[6] *through the power of the Buddha.*

And the beings who were diseased, afflicted and helpless became whole and happy, bathed in the rays of the Buddha.

Those blind from birth gained sure sight and were able to see things. They spoke to one another of the mighty[7] *one who had gained enlightenment.*

Passion, hate and folly were allayed when enlightenment was won by the Śākyan Lion, the great Seer.

Palaces and fair mansions, gabled and delightful, all turned towards[8] *the mighty Bodhisattva.*

All men and women and Kinnaras in the Buddha-field turned towards the mighty Bodhisattva.

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[1] *Pratyeka.*

[2] *Kūṭāgarehi*, or "by gabled buildings." *Nirmitā*, "fashioned," is for *nirmitehi.*

[3] *Heṣṭā*, "below," but it must have here the modified meaning given in the translation.

[4] *Dhūpanetra.*

[5] *Heṭṭhā.* Pali for *heṣṭā.*

[6] *Udgatā* for *udgatehi.* Cf. *n.* 1.

[7] *Tāyin.* See p. 318, *n.* 2.

[8] *Tatomukhā.*

Devas, male and female, deva sons and beautiful deva maidens all turned towards the bodhi *tree of the great Seer.*

Nāgas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Kumbhāṇḍas and Rākṣasas all turned towards the bodhi *tree of the great Seer.*

Young boys and young girls, lying abed or sitting down, all stood and faced towards the bodhi *tree of the great Seer.*

All gems of precious stones, celestial and rare, (352) *ornaments of devas, turned thitherwards.*

The jewels of Nāgas, Yakṣas, Piśācas and Rākṣasas all turned towards the bodhi *tree.*

Anklets, bracelets and armlets turned towards the place where hung the saffron garments of the Buddha who had won enlightenment.

Men's strings of pearls, and lovely necklaces worn round the neck, and the adornments of human beings turned towards the immovable bodhi *tree.*

Strings of pearls, brilliant ornaments, earrings of gems, chains of gold and signet rings turned towards the immovable bodhi *tree.*

All the inconceivable beings in the Buddha-field, wittingly or unwittingly, turned towards the immovable bodhi *tree.*

Cool winds, fragrant and delightful, blew all around the Buddha-field of the Mighty One who had gained enlightenment.

All the devas in the Buddha-field, Nāgas, men, Asuras, Kinnaras, and Yakṣas gazed upon their Guide.

Carrying censers, and all made happy by him, they worshipped the Light of the world as he stood on the bodhi *throne.*

With their joined hands uplifted they adored him and extolled him in verse. (353) *They paid worship to the Buddha as they stood near the* bodhi *throne.*

All beheld him seated there, the light-bringing Saviour of the world. No one perceived him standing at a distance, even of a fathom's length.

No one in the world saw the Buddha from behind, but all the quarters saw him face to face.

No one saw the Guide of the world from the left or from the right, but all saw the great Hero, straight in front.

Forthwith incense was burnt in the Buddha-field, and all

the farthest ends of the Buddha-fields[1] *were filled with its scent.*

It is not possible to count all the koṭis *who saw the glory of the Buddha as they stepped towards the* bodhi *tree.*

Grass and wood, herbs and trees, all were turned towards the bodhi *tree of the great Seer.*

Who, having heard of such marvellous signs[2] *displayed by the Guide of the world, would not be glad? Who but a minion of Māra?*

All the glory that was the mighty Buddha's when he won enlightenment, could not be declared, even in the words of one gifted with magical powers of speech.[3]

When those who saw the perfect Buddha as he stood on the bodhi *throne and worshipped him, heard of the signs they were glad because they understood.*

And monks who are firmly established in morality[4] *will feel a fine rapture when they have heard this* sūtra.

(354) *There will be joy for those who are endowed with forbearance and a gentle disposition, who are active of body and mind, and are desirous for knowledge of the Buddha.*

There will be joy for those who, awake to the supreme enlightenment, comfort men by saying that they will deliver them from liability to re-birth.[5]

There will be joy for those who have honoured previous Buddhas, best of the twice-born,[6] *when they hear this* sūtra *of the great Seer.*

Those who refreshed the needy with food and drink will do reverence to the Buddha when they hear this sūtra.

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[1] The plural is remarkable here. It can only be a touch of poetic exaggeration. For each Buddha had one, and only one, Buddha-field. See Vol. 1, pp. 95 *ff*.

[2] *Īdriśāndharmā.*

[3] Or "of one speaking with magic," *ṛiddhi bhāṣatas.*

[4] Literally, "body of morality," *śīlaskandha*, Pali *sīlakkhandha*, "all that belongs to moral practices, body of morality as forming the first constituent of the five *khandhas*." (*P.E.D.*) These *khandhas*, which the Pali texts enumerate as three, *sīlakkhandha*, *samādhi-*, *paññā-*, or as five, by adding *vimutti-* and *vimuttiñāṇadassana-*, are to be distinguished from the five *khandhas* (*skandhas*) or "elements of sensory existence." (See Vol. 1, p. 58, *n.* 3.)

[5] *Mociṣyi upapadyatām*, following the suggestion of Senart's that by supplying *iti* (understood) these words will be the actual words spoken by each, "I shall deliver," etc.

[6] *Dvijasattama*, a strange epithet of the Buddhas. Possibly it should be emended into the more usual *dvipaduttama*, "best of bipeds."

Those who succoured the poor with their wealth will do reverence to the Buddha when they hear this sūtra.

Those who of old reared fine topes to the Buddhas will rejoice when they come to know the fairest palaces[1] *of all.*

Those who of old[2] *maintained the true dharma of the Saviour of the world and renounced gain and reputation will rejoice.*

Those whose lives are no more to be re-compounded[3] *and who are rid of karma that demands requital, the beloved*[4] *of the Saviour of the world, will render him honour.*

There will be rapture for those who, having seen the benevolent perfect Buddha, the Best of bipeds, will render him great honour.

There will be rapture for those who, having seen the Lion, the great Nāga, the monument of the world, will do him great honour.

(355) *There will be rapture for those who, eager for knowledge of the Buddha, will render honour to the banner of the Saviour of the world.*

There will be rapture for those who, having seen the Buddha, the light-bringer, the invincible, will render him great honour.

There will be rapture for those who, having seen the good Guide, the Light of the world, will revere him with infinite honour.

There will be rapture for those who, when they see the two Saviours of the world, the Tathāgatas named Kusuma,[5] *will revere them.*

There will be rapture for those who, when they see Maru, perfect Buddha, Best of bipeds, choicest of speakers, will revere him.

There will be rapture for those who, when they see Puṣpa, supreme Buddha, Best of bipeds, will pay him the highest homage.

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[1] Reading, with one MS., *prāsādā* for *prasādā*. "Palaces" here, of course, denoting the truths of Buddhism, much in the same way as *ratana*, "jewel," is used. Besides, *prasādā* seems required to form an antithesis to *cetiyā*.

[2] *Puluvan* = *pūrvam*.

[3] *Asaṃṣkṛitāyus*, "whose life is uncompounded," *i.e.* with no *saṃskāras* to condition or cause another rebirth. Cf. *ayu : saṃṣkāras*, Vol. I, p. 99, *n.* I.

[4] *Orasa*, Pali, Sk. *aurasa*, "being in the breast" (*uras.*).

[5] These future Buddhas seem to be alluded to only here.

There will be terror for those who, being avaricious, setting value on reputation and relying on false knowledge, hear this sūtra *with little heed.*

There will be no distress for those who, though they delight in society[1] *and dwell amid the crowd, have heeded the seclusion of the Buddha.*

Even the immoral, when they have heard the Buddha speaking thus, will turn to the Light of the world, and render him eager reverence.

There will be joy for the future valiant and blessed Bodhisattvas who have been proclaimed by the Buddha.

(356) *Those who will never lapse from knowledge of the Buddha will be blessed, when they hear this* sūtra.

Those who, trained with submissive minds in knowledge of the Buddha, have revered, honoured and worshipped former Buddhas, choice beings and lords of men, will be enraptured when they hear of the beauty[2] *of the Best of Men.*

And those who are perfectly and entirely pure, endued with hundreds of koṭis *of good qualities; those who, rejoicing in the Sugata's teaching, uphold*[3] *the dharma when it is breaking up.*[4]

And those who are constant and devout,[5] *and are not scurrilous and loose of talk,*[6] *nor given to pride, will be enraptured when they hear of the beauty of the noble Conqueror.*

Those who do not forsake the knowledge of a Buddha; those whose peerless, infinite enlightenment is without a flaw, and those who abide in unremitting devotion, will be enraptured when they hear of the beauty of the noble Conqueror.

Monks, when of old the Tathāgata was living his career as a Bodhisattva, he rose above the world through being endowed

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[1] *Sanganikā*, BSk. and Pali.

[2] Reading, with the MSS., *varṇam* for *varṇo*; and so twice below on the same page.

[3] *Dharesi*, "habitual" aorist, 3rd sg. for pl.

[4] *Lujyamāna*, pres. part. pass. of *luj* = *ruj*. Cf. *pralujyati*, p. 370 (text) = Pali *palujjati*, pass. of *palujati*.

[5] There is a lacuna before *anubaddhā*, which is evidently the final member of a compound word. The translation adopts Senart's suggestion that the compound can be restored by reading *vratānubaddhā*.

[6] *Vikīrṇavācā*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 229, *n*. 2.

with four moral states.[1] What four? Flawless morality,[2] (357) . . . ,[3] a heart benevolent[4] to all beings, and a heart devoted[5] to all beings. Endowed then with these four moral states, monks, the Tathāgata, when he lived his career as a Bodhisattva, attained an omniscience of this kind.

Then, on that occasion, the Exalted One uttered these verses:—

Morality is the best treasure in the teaching of the Saviour of the world. Neither gold nor silver is the wealth extolled by the monk.

Let him who stands faithfully by the Master's teaching honour morality. The immoral man is driven far away; he is not a disciple of the Buddha.

The Best of bipeds, the Saviours of the world, the great Heroes, who are endowed with the thirty-two marks, look upon those who have kept their morality flawless.[6]

Dwelling in his forest home, zealous[7] *for love and morality, valiant and at ease—this is the treasure of the recluse.*

Desiring little, and content with little, valiant and self-composed, conscientious and scrupulous[8]*—this is the treasure of the recluse.*

For all monks are truly moral when they have broken the ensnaring net of craving and developed the seven bodhyangas[9] *—this is the treasure of the recluse.*

The sage with no passion for existence develops the void and the calm; manifold ills have no reality for him—this is the treasure of the recluse.

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[1] *Caturhi dharmehi samanvāgata.*

[2] *Śīlaskhandha.* See p. 321, *n.* 4.

[3] The second is lost in a lacuna, though one MS. retains the ending *citratāya* (*sic* for *cittatāya*).

[4] *Hita.*

[5] *Ohita,* Pali. BSk. generally has *avahita* or *apahita,* but the *Mhvu.* has *ohita.* Both *hita* and *ohita* are, of course, from the same root *dhā.*

[6] The construction here is awkward. The words *paśyanti rakṣitvā* do not readily give the above translation, although the context seems to demand it. Senart can only construe by taking *paśyanti* to be passive. But even then the construing into "they are seen to have kept" (or "as having kept") is by no means certain.

[7] *Utsuka,* Pali *ussuka.*

[8] *hirī-ottappasampanna.* For *ottappa* see Vol. 1, p. 87, *n.* 1. *Hirī* and *ottappa* are often associated. See *P.E.D.* for references.

[9] See p. 142, *n.* 3.

Very rich does he become who thus pursues his way; following this course of conduct even a monk is very rich.

(358) *The monk who is endowed with morality is accounted wealthy, for it is not on the score of pearls and corals that the monk becomes very rich.*

Let the monk be moral, dwelling at ease, and harming none. It is not by acquiring the robe that the monk goes to the heavenly bourne.

By the perfect practice of morality he avoids all inopportune times. The Master does not commend the monk who sets store on birth and possessions.

When he has set his mind on morality, heaven is not hard for him to win. He is dear and pleasant to all wherever he goes.

Guard your morality prudently as you aim at the three happy things—praise, wealth, and, when you have passed on, joy in heaven.[1] *Morality is the best garment and a resplendent ornament. The monk who is conspicuous for his morality*[2] *is not obstructed in his charity.*[3]

His body is radiant with pure morality, and when death comes there is no burning[4] *for him.*

When his morality is pure, the attainment of fruition is not difficult. Then besides there is heaven, and he sees the Saviour of the world.

Conspicuous though he is for his pure morality the monk is withal meek, and he does not get himself known by his loud talk.

Moral and fearless, he is never afraid. Never does he fall[5]

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[1] This stanza is identical, word for word, with one at *It.* 67, except that the latter has *vittalābha* for *citta°*, and this reading has been adopted here also. Cf. *S.* 1. 126, where *cittam* is probably to be emended into *vittam.*

[2] Literally, "made bright by morality," *śīlena śobhito.*

[3] *Dadanto na vihanyati.* But the correctness of the text may be doubted, especially as, by strict monastic rules, a monk would have nothing to give. Apart from *dadanto*, it might be possible to render "the monk is made to shine by his morality (and his light) is not dimmed" (*vihanyati*). Miss I. B. Horner, however, makes the interesting suggestion that the virtuous monk's charity or gift is that of dharma. She cites *A.* 1. 91 and *It.* p. 98, where two kinds of gifts are specified, that of material things and that of dhamma.

[4] *Dāgha*, a Prakrit form, according to Senart, for *dāha*, Pali *ḍāha*. See his note Vol. 1, p. 388.

[5] "Goes to," *gacchati.*

into too much affection which leads[1] *to the bourne of ill.*[2]

(359) *The moral man has few desires and few cares, but is content with virtue. He wins concentration quickly and goes on to win serenity.*[3]

With his morality guarded the monk becomes confident; nor is he blinded[4] *when he has seen the disciples of the Conqueror.*

For the monk who has made his morals clean can, being self-possessed and mindful, recollect his former lives during thousands of koṭis *of* kalpas.

It is as a result of his morality that the great Hero, the monument of the whole world, can observe[5] *the Brahmā-world.*

Through his pure morality his deva-eye[6] *is made clear. No place anywhere in the Buddha-fields is beyond his range of vision.*

With morality well attained, the infinite Tathāgata, the Guide, knows the passing away and coming-to-be of all beings.

The moral man will fare through the world alert and energetic; it is not hard for him to get to hear the pleasing sound of the Buddha's name.[7]

The moral man becomes dear and pleasing to men, everywhere honoured, revered, and esteemed, pure of heart and sinless.

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1 "Is," *bhūta.*

2 This pāda must be regarded as very doubtful. The MS. evidence, to judge by the two MSS. quoted in the apparatus, is very confusing, and it is difficult to see how the reading in the text was reached by Senart. He, however, makes no remarks on the passage. His text reads *na kadācidyutāgasaṃ gacchati bhūtadurgatim,* which would seem to mean, literally, "never does he go to what is joined with sin, which is the bourne of ill." *Āgasaṃ* would be a vocalic declension of *āgas,* "sin," but its composition with *yuta* is very perplexing. The two MSS. referred to read, respectively, *na yuvo snigdhasaṃbhūtaḥ kadāciṣu sudurgatiṃ* and °*d yutogasaṃ kadācid bhūṣu durgatim.* Taking a clue from the former the translator has made the very tentative restoration —*na kadācidatisnehaṃ gacchati,* etc. For *atisneha* and the sentiment generally cf. some verses of the *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa sūtra* in Vol. 1, p. 358 f. text (p. 304 f., trans.).

3 *Prasādaṃ gacchati.*

4 Literally "his eye is not destroyed," *na tasya hanyate cakṣum.* The explanation is obscure, unless the allusion is, as the sequel would seem to show, to his being able to see more than the objects immediately around him.

5 Literally, "goes observing," *nirīkṣīya gacchati.*

6 See Vol. 1, p. 125.

7 Literally, "the Buddha-sound is not hard for him to win," *na tasya dullabho bhoti buddhaghoṣa.* Cf. *V.* 2. 155, *ghoso pi kho eso dullabho lokasmiṃ yad idaṃ buddho buddho ti.*

Through his pure morality a man can see one passing away to the highest brilliant mansion, the resort of throngs of Apsarases.

Through his pure morality a man can see one passing away to[1] *the bright peak of Sumeru, the abode of the Trāyastriṃśa-devas.*

Through his pure morality he can see the Yāma devas, and that celestial city which is crowded by Apsarases.

(360) *Because of his perfectly pure morality he sees the Tuṣita devas ; he sees their bright bejewelled mansions.*

Because of his perfectly pure morality he sees the Nirmāṇarati devas, the devas (*named*) *Sunirmita, makers of their own adornments.*[2]

Because of his perfectly pure morality he sees the shining Paranirmitavaśavartin devas standing in their own mansions.

Because of his perfectly pure morality he sees the abode of Māra[3], *covered with a canopy of jewels and crowded by throngs of Apsarases.*

Through fixing his mind on morality he sees the Brahmā devas and their mansion of Jāmbūnada gold begirt with jewels.

The moral monk sees the devas in Brahmā's train, and the devas who are his priests,[4] *standing in their mansions.*

The moral monk sees standing in their mansions the devas who are Brahmā's attendants[5] *and the Mahā-Brahmā devas.*

Endowed with morality he sees the Ābhā devas and their magnificent bejewelled mansions.

The moral monk sees the powerful Śubha devas, the Śubhakṛitsna and the Apramāṇābhā devas.

Through keeping his morality pure he sees the Parīttaśubha devas, and thousands of devas standing in the material world.

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[1] Literally, " on," loc. case.

[2] With allusion to the meaning of the name *Nirmāṇarati*, " delighting in their own creations." Sunirmita was the name of a king of these devas (see Vol. 1, p. 165, *n.* 4). He is here, as usually, styled *devaputra*, " deva-son." But the distinction between *deva* and *devaputra* seems hardly worth while making, as even the highest devas are sometimes called *devaputras*. The distinction has been generally ignored throughout this translation. The pluralising of the names and persons of devas is a feature of Buddhist literature.

[3] Māra here is not so much the " Evil One " of Buddhist theology as one of the *sammutidevā* of the conventional religion.

[4] See p. 294, *n.* 5.

[5] *Brahmāpārṣadya.*

Through his perfectly pure morality he sees the Vṛihatphala devas, the Avṛiha devas, the Atapa devas, the Sudṛiśa devas and the Sudarśana devas. **(361)** *Through his perfect morality he even sees the Śuddhāvāsa devas.*

The monks who have kept their morality shining see those who have passed entirely away[1] *there as fire has been quenched by water.*

He[2] *who has the marks of distinction was always unblemished in morality in his former lives. Thus he comes to be the Daśabala, the Master, and his body sparkles with the marks of excellence.*

Always alert in morality and in concentration did the Conqueror fare for countless kalpas *in the past. So does he become the lord of dharma in the world, like as the sun is the lord of light.*

Thus practising pure morality for infinite countless kalpas, *the Sugata is adorned and shining with the marks. From his mouth blows the scent of sandal-wood.*

Ever keeping in view these good qualities and guarding the morality commended by the Conqueror, abide in the forest[3] *with exultant hearts. Those who honour the excellent Sage are exalted.*

The Buddhas seen of old were Caravan-leaders, who had stifled their passions, were revered and honoured and self-dependent. **(362)** *They begat the desire for the noble enlightenment. When they heard of these good qualities the Bodhisattvas were exultant.*[4]

Again, monks, the Tathāgata is pure in morality, in concentration, in wisdom, in emancipation, in the knowledge of emancipation, in forbearance, in sweetness of disposition,[5] in

[1] Or "passed to Nirvana," *parinirvāyi*, aor. 3rd sg. for pl.

[2] The perfect or good monk and the Buddha himself are disconcertingly mixed up throughout this passage.

[3] *Pavane*, which Senart takes to mean "in purifying yourselves." But more likely the word is not *pavana*, "winnowing," but Pali *pavana* (= Sk. *pravaṇa*), which is used elsewhere in the *Mhvu.* in the sense of "wood," "woodland." Cf. p. 382 (text). See authorities cited in *P.E.D.*

[4] This last sentence should not really be part of the verses, as it is a comment on the reception by the Bodhisattvas, who were the Buddha's audience, of the verses recited by him. The whole stanza is remarkable for the number of substantival forms in *ă* (for *ā*) mingled with the regular plural form.

[5] *Sorabhya.*

love, and in compassion. And, monks,[1] the Tathāgata being thus perfectly pure, it is not possible to determine the merit of him who shall render him honour with flowers, garlands, perfumes, flags and banners, music, and ointments. His body of merit cannot be exhausted otherwise than by one of the three careers[2] until the end of it comes in Nirvana.[3] And why? Because, monks, as the Tathāgata is infinite in all good qualities, so, monks, offerings made to the Tathāgata are infinite, unending, inconceivable, incomparable, immeasurable, illimitable and ineffable. Again, monks, it is all the same if one shall worship the Tathāgata when he is still living and shall revere him, esteem him and honour him with flowers, perfumes, garlands, sunshades, flags, banners, music, incense, ointments, food, drink, carriages and clothes, or if he shall honour him when he has utterly passed away by laying over him a wreath of mustard flowers.[4]

And on that occasion the Exalted One uttered these verses[5]:—

He who, having turned his thoughts to enlightenment for the sake of all living things, reverentially salutes[6] the tope of the Saviour of the world, becomes everywhere in all his lives as he fares on the way to enlightenment, mindful, thoughtful, virtuous and assured.

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[1] *Bhikṣo*, not voc. sg. for pl., but more likely a Prakrit form of the plural *bhikṣavah*. The form is used four times in this short prose passage, among about an equal number of the regular plural form.

[2] *I.e.* the three *yānas* of Mahāyāna Buddhism—*śrāvakayāna, pratyekabuddhayāna* and *Buddhayāna*.

[3] Literally, ' as long as Nirvana the end of it is not," *yāvanna parinirvāṇaṃ tasya paryantah.*

[4] Reading *sarṣapaphulla* for °*phala* " mustard-fruit ".

[5] These verses contain some passages practically identical with passages in the *Avalokana-sūtra* quoted by Śāntideva in *Śikṣā-samuccaya* (pp. 298 ff. ed. Bendall, pp. 270 ff. trans. Bendall and Rouse). This fact coupled with the similarity of the subject shows that both Śāntideva and the *Mhvu.* were quoting from a work which at one time circulated under some title like *Avalokita-sūtra* or *Avalokana-sūtra*. But the *Mhvu.* shows far greater elaboration of detail, and we may accordingly go further than Winternitz (*History of Indian literature*), who says (Vol. 2, p. 245 *n.*) " though the text in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* agrees in the main with that of the *Mahāvastu*, there are nevertheless such striking divergencies of particular passages, that it cannot possibly be an extract from the *Mahāvastu*," and say, rather, that in the *Mhvu.* we have a much enlarged version of a work which retains more of its original character and scope in the version quoted by Śantideva. The other two extracts in the *Mhvu.*, (that called here " the first *Avalokita-sūtra* ") and in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (pp. 89 ff.), respectively, have nothing in common.

[6] *Abhipradakṣinaṃ karoti, lit.* " keep to one's right in going round, approaching, or leaving," a form of reverential salutation.

(363) *He becomes everywhere in all his lives honoured of devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Rakṣasas, who reverentially salutes a tope.*

He avoids the eight inopportune times which I have pointed out,[1] *and achieves*[2] *that one brilliant time when a Buddha appears.*

He becomes endowed with beauty, adorned with marks of excellence, blessed with fair complexion, and high-minded.

He who, on seeing the Light of the world, honours him again and again, becomes rich and wealthy, virtuous, and free from envy.[3]

He is not confounded by appearances[4] *as he has perceived the unsubstantiality*[5] *and emptiness*[6] *of them. He speedily wins trust and is well versed in the dharma.*

He is reborn in wealthy and prosperous merchants' families. He becomes most charitable, brave, freely generous, and not miserly.

Whatever distinguished magnificent families there be in Jambūdvīpa, amongst them is he reborn as a hero ; he avoids base families.

He who has reverentially saluted a tope becomes everywhere an affluent householder, ablaze with splendour and glory, and honoured.

He becomes an affluent brāhman, wise and learned ; an affluent noble, wealthy and rich.

He becomes, too, a righteous king, a lord in Jambūdvīpa, governing it and the whole mountain-girt earth besides.

He becomes a mighty universal king, a sovereign possessing the seven treasures. (364) *Firmly established in his realm he worships the Buddha again and again.*

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[1] See p. 358, text (p. 325.. The eight inopportune or unseasonable times, *akṣaṇa* (Pali *akkhaṇa*), are enumerated at *D.* 3. 263. On p. 287 *ibid.* they are given as nine.

[2] *Ārāgeti*, elsewhere in the *Mhvu.*, as in BSk. generally, *ārāgayati*, a distortion of Pali *ārādheti*. In Vol. 1, p. 132 (text, p. 104, trans.) Senart prefers the form *ārādheti* in spite of the evidence of the MSS. for the BSk. form. There and elsewhere in the *Mhvu.* the verb has the correct Pali meaning of "to win the favour of." Here, however, it follows the second meaning of the Pali verb, *viz.* "to attain," a meaning due to confusion of *ārādheti* with *ārabhati*.

[3] *Anīrṣuka*, partially assimilated to Pali *anissukin* (Sk. *anīrṣyu-ka*).

[4] *Dharmehi.*

[5] *Nairātmya*, "soullessness."

[6] *Śūnyatā.*

When he passes away, full of trust in the Buddha's teaching, he goes to heaven. He even becomes Śakra, king of the devas, a lord on the peak of Meru.

He becomes Suyāma, lord of devas, and also Santuṣita; and Nirmita too, a lord of devas, and Vaśavartin, a sovereign of devas.[1]

He even becomes Brahmā in the Brahmā world, a wise sovereign, honoured by koṭis *of devas, who has reverentially saluted a tope.*

One cannot complete the tale, even in hundreds of koṭis *of* kalpas, *of those who have reverentially saluted a tope of the Saviour of the world.*

Verily, he who, turning his thoughts to enlightenment, adores a monument of the Master, does not, in koṭis *of* kalpas, *become blind either in one eye or both.*

He who has reverentially saluted a monument of the Saviour of the world wins clear-seeing eyes, large, blue and lustrous.

He who has reverentially saluted a tope becomes endued with strength and energy; he does not fall into indolence, but is ever alert.

He who has reverentially saluted a tope, firm in energy, firm in strength, enduring, and firm in courage, quickly wins good fortune.

Verily he does not perish by fire or by poison or by weapon, but dies, a wise man, at the end of his full term of life.

He who has reverentially saluted a tope becomes renowned in capital cities, kingdoms and towns, for his beauty, prosperity and wealth.

He becomes clean of body, clean of garment, and established in pure righteousness. Hence he does not follow after sensuous delights as he fares on the way of enlightenment.

(365) *Verily, he who, turning his thoughts to enlightenment, makes a garland of flowers and places it on a tope, is not destroyed.*

For when he passes hence and dies, he goes to the Trāyastriṃśa devas, and there speedily obtains a brilliant bejewelled mansion.

He who places garlands on a tope enjoys among the Trāyastriṃśa devas gabled palaces thronged by Apsarases.

[1] For these four see Vol. 1, p. 165, *n.* 4–7.

He shall have a celestial lotus-pond full of perfect[1] *water, with a floor of golden sand bestrewn with beryl and crystal.*

And when, full of wisdom, he has completed his enjoyment of celestial prosperity, he passes away from the deva world and becomes a man of wealth.

In virtue of his root of merit he wins[2] *the favour of the Tathāgata. Ardent and watchful he worships the Best of bipeds.*

He who has worshipped the Highest of bipeds is not overcome by passion, nor yet carried away by hatred ; nor does he ever become infatuated.

When he has worshipped the Saviour of the world he becomes in all his lives free of passion, hatred and folly, and has his faculties under control.

He who has placed garlands on a monument, becomes at all times honoured, for thousands of koṭis *of lives, for hundreds of* nayutas *of lives.*

He who has placed garlands on a monument, becomes even a universal king, and the lord Śakra ; and a Brahmā in the Brahmā world.

He who has placed a festoon of fine silk on a monument of the Saviour of the world, (366) *prospers in all his aims, both among devas and among men.*

He avoids base families and is not reborn among them. But he becomes wealthy and affluent, a sovereign in Jambūdvīpa.

He who has rendered worship to a Tathāgata becomes everywhere distinguished in beauty, in riches, in complexion and in magic power.

He has a memory of former lives and is not carried away by passion. He understands the depravity of sensuous desires and takes to the holy life.

He who has worshipped the Best of bipeds is not overcome by forms, by sounds or by tastes, and does not commit a wicked deed.

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[1] Reading *aṣṭāṅgavārisampūrṇām* for *aṣṭangavara*° of the text. A substantive is required as the second element of the compound. Two MSS. have °*jala*°, "water." Cf. also *Śikṣāsamuccaya* translation (p. 271) "full of eight qualities of water." (The Sanskrit text is not available.) *Aṣṭāṅga*, however, does not necessarily imply eight actual qualities, but is, as often, used in the general sense of "complete" or "perfect." See p. 280, *n.* 6.

[2] *Ārāgeti*. See p. 330, *n.* 2.

Neither is he carried away by smell and touch, but becomes mindful and thoughtful, if he has worshipped the Guide.

Robber kings do not seize the wealth of one who has worshipped the Tathāgata, nor does fire destroy it.

He who has given the Guide of the world a festoon of fine silk and flowers, does not experience grief and the sting of grief.[1]

He who has worshipped the Light of the world becomes everywhere in all his lives immune from grief and oppression, a powerful universal king.

He has well-knit[2] *hands and feet and wins splendour of frame; he is endowed with beauty, who has worshipped the Saviour of the world.*

He eschews the evil deed as he fares on the way to enlightenment. He beholds the Best of Men who are so very rare in the world.

(367) *Having enjoyed well-being for thousands of* koṭis *of* kalpas, *for hundreds of* nayutas *of* kalpas, *full of wisdom he awakens to the supreme enlightenment.*

Having made a booth of festoons over the relics[3] *of the Saviour of the world he becomes a powerful king with a loyal retinue.*

He renounces those evil states which are renounced by Āryans, and ensues the good states which are commended by Buddhas.

He becomes beloved and cherished, honoured and esteemed, by devas and Nāgas and all the wise men in the world.

Powerful, with a great and brilliant retinue, he honours the Best of bipeds, the invincible perfect Buddha.

Whatever household he, glorious with the glory of merit, is born in, that family becomes honoured[4] *in kingdom and town.*

[1] Reading *śokaśalākām* (= the usual *śokaśalya*) instead of *śokavairāgyām* of the text, which would give the inappropriate sense "(he does not go to grief) and freedom from the passion of grief." The reading *śailānyam* of two MSS. would seem to suggest the above emendation readily.

[2] *Su-ghaṭṭita.* This past part. must be referred to *granth* (*grath*), "to fasten together," *etc.*, and not to *ghaṭṭ*, "to rub," "touch," "shake," "strike," *etc.* Cf. Pali *ghaṭṭana* (1) "combining," (2) "striking," which is thus referable to both stems.

[3] *Dhātuṣu.*

[4] *Satkṛito* (*sic*) for *satkṛitam* (*kulam*).

Whosoever turns his thoughts towards enlightenment and makes a booth of garlands, his becomes the good fortune which has been extolled by Buddhas.

He does not become hunchbacked, nor lame and bald; but he walks steadily, adorned with the thirty-two marks, wherever he is reborn.

When he sees needy folk he succours them with his wealth, and inviolable he fares on the way of enlightenment.

In his highmindedness having renounced the earth he becomes sublime of heart, and never is he cast down.

He who has stepped towards enlightenment goes on his way renouncing sons, daughters and lovely and good wives.

Not forward of speech,[1] *but handsome of face and good to look on* (368) *he is not assailed by jealousy or conceit at any time.*

He who has stepped towards enlightenment is free from envy, kindly disposed, perfect in forbearance, benevolent and endued with good qualities.

A rare treasure is he in the world. Blameless is he and worthy of offerings who has stepped towards enlightenment.

It would be easier for an infant to count the stars in the twinkling sky than it would be to tell in words the limit of this man's virtues.

It would be easier to know the thoughts, past, present and future,[2] *of all creatures, than to tell in words the limit of this man's virtue.*

It would be easier for an infant to tell the number of the grains of sand and the thousands of koṭis *of Nāgas in the four great oceans, than it would be to tell this man's virtue.*

It would be easier to count in a moment the hairs of all creatures in the six realms in the universe,[3] *than to tell this man's virtue.*

It would be easier for an infant to measure this whole earth that stands in the waste of waters, than it would be to tell this man's virtue.

It would be easier for a learned man to count the trees, beginning with those growing for a kalpa *in the home of the*

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[1] *Pūrvālāpin,* "allowing others to speak first." See p. 62, *n.* 3.
[2] *Triyadhvacitta.*
[3] *Jage*—vocalic declension of *jagat.*

devas, then those which are here on earth in the meantime and those in the future, their flowers and their fruits, than it would be to tell the limit of the virtue of this son of the Buddha.

It would be easier to count the pleasant, golden rays of this sun (369) *than to tell the limit of the virtue of a son of the Buddha.*

Whosoever in the course of a hundred lives does him[1] *an unkindness is banned from the company of devas and men; hell is his bourne.*

He becomes blind and sightless, wretched and helpless, who in his folly[2] *maltreats Bodhisattvas.*

When he passes away he shall go to the terrible and fearful Avīci, where with his huge body[3] *he undergoes bitter sufferings.*

He is reborn there with a body a yojana *in length, and in all his vast extent he is tormented by fire.*

There are five thousand heads on his body, and in each head fully five hundred tongues.

On each tongue's tip hundreds of sword-blades[4] *are fixed. This is the terrible torment he undergoes; this is the fruit of his karma.*

When he passes away from Avīci he goes to Tapana and Pratāpana, and there the witless man suffers for his former misdeeds.

Verily, it is not easy for him who, in his folly, maltreats the sons of Buddha, to recover birth as a human.

For hundreds of thousands, for hundreds of nayutas *of lives he undergoes bitter sufferings. And that is the cause of his torment.*

There is a terrible poison, corrosive and devouring the marrow, awaiting him (370) *who has maltreated the mighty sons of Buddha.*

He suffers hunger and thirst; this is the fruit of evil karma.

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[1] *Se = asya.*

[2] *Aviddasu*, Pali.

[3] An echo of the primitive belief that "shades" of the dead were larger than the bodies of the living. Here it is also implied that the greater the size of the victim the more numerous the torments to which he could be submitted.

[4] Reading *phalānām* for *halānām*, "ploughshares," though the monstrous size of the victim does make it possible that the latter is correct. Still, one MS. has *phalā°*. The latter, of course, can itself mean "ploughshare" (= *phāla*) as well as a "blade" or "point" of a weapon.

And even when he has got something to eat he does not ever enjoy it to his satisfaction.

Passing thence, in Yama's world he is devoured by huge carrion. No refuge does he ever win who has maltreated monks.

Passing thence, again, when his time is done, and coming to the world of men, he is blind from birth, witless, mad and insane.

His speech is unintelligible, untruthful, and evil in sound. And when he passes away from the world of men he forthwith goes to a sphere of woe.

He who, in his folly, has maltreated the sons of Buddha, never sees a Buddha for thousands of koṭis *of* kalpas.

He who affords the sons of Buddha just protection[1] *in his home, avoids every sphere of woe and quickly passes to the heavenly bourne.*

He becomes rich and affluent, powerful and assured, endued with mindfulness and wisdom, blessed and free from distress.

And when the Lights of the world have passed to Nirvana, he[2] *adores the Buddha's topes again and again whenever he sees them.*

Who, hearing such truths[3] *spoken by the Buddha will not again and again show trust in the sons of the Buddha ?*

Whoso will honour thousands of Buddhas, yea, hundreds of nayutas *of them, for as many* kalpas *as there are grains of sand in the Ganges,*

And whoso will support the true dharma preached by the Saviour of the world, when it is breaking up,[4] **(371)** *for even one night or day, will be distinguished in merit.*

He[5] *becomes honoured and established in knowledge of the Buddha ; and the Buddhas, too, are honoured when the dharma which is breaking up, is supported.*

Whoso guards the teaching of the Master when the true dharma is breaking up, never comes to harm for thousands of koṭis *of* kalpas.

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[1] *Rakṣa* for *rakṣāṃ*, metri causa.
[2] The text has the plural in this stanza.
[3] *Dharmā*, pl.
[4] *Pralujjanta*. See p. 323, *n*. 4.
[5] *Aham* = *ayam*.

He is at ease in his body and does not succumb to illness. He will never be destroyed even by thousands of misfortunes.

He who has guarded the teaching of the Master becomes endued with forbearance, gentle, kind, meek, and friendly to others.

Serene and joyful he accepts the scorn[1] *evinced hitherto whenever the dharma has been suppressed.*[2] *Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up escapes all inopportune times.*[3]

Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up, always becomes arrayed in marks of excellence as the sky is bespangled with stars.

Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up, escapes birth in base families among whom there is no blessed ease. He becomes wealthy, happy and prosperous.

(372) *Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up, through his energy attains excellent strength, and proudly moves over the whole earth, honouring hundreds of thousands of Buddhas.*

Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up, comporting himself mindful and virtuous, becomes most highly revered among men and immortals, a wise man most highly extolled in Jambūdvīpa.

Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up, becomes most beautiful of form and dear to men, women and devas, brilliant, praised and virtuous.[4]

Whoso supports the dharma of the noble Conqueror when it is breaking up, for all of a hundred thousand koṭis *of* kalpas *is endued with the strength of virtue, and all-knowing. Nor does he lose all this esteem.*[5]

Those men to whom the Master, the Daśabala,[6] *the deva of devas, has disclosed this* sūtra *will have unshakable joy when their last death is come.*

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[1] *Pratikrośa,* "shouting against."

[2] Literally, "seen in former annihilation *or* suppression," *purimanirodha-driṣṭa.*

[3] See p. 330, *n.* 1.

[4] *Praśastu,* for *praśasta.*

[5] *Ānuśaṃsa ;* so also on next page. Either a mistake or a different BSk. version of Pali *ānisaṃsa,* the usual one being *anuśaṃsa.* See p. 302, *n.* 2.

[6] Here *Daśabaladhārin,* "possessor of the ten powers."

They[1] *shall tell of the dharma of the noble Conqueror to those in Nirvana.*[2] **(373)** *They uphold it with faith out of respect for them, and lay their gifts on countless monuments and honour the Sangha out of respect for the Exalted One.*

When the teaching of the noble Conqueror is breaking up they uphold the way of the noble dharma[3] *of the Master. He who neglects to perform this fair and noblest deed shall not come to a fair end.*[4]

All beings shall become saviours of the world, all-seeing, with passions stifled and the lusts destroyed. For thousands of nayutas *of* koṭis *they shall tell the praise of an offering of flowers*[5] *to the noble Conqueror.*

At all times he eschews the wicked deed and exultantly practises[6] *the excellent dharma. And when he has for a very long time pursued the good in his various lives, he becomes a peerless Buddha in the world.*

Serene of heart and abandoning lusts, hear me as I tell the praise of him who takes a speck of incense finer than a grain of mustard and burns it at the shrines of the Blessed One.

He walks in virtue through the regions of the world, immune from sickness, firmly devout, and alert. As he goes his ways he guides the worlds and becomes dear to and beloved of men.

(374) *When he has attained a kingdom, as a powerful and wise universal ruler, of golden beauty, adorned*[7] *with the marks of excellence, he worships the Conqueror. And at all times he receives fragrant perfumes.*

For him there is no physical or mental pain. In his various lives he escapes lowly fortunes. He becomes rich, prosperous, and affluent. He fares through all the worlds successful in everything.

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[1] The subject becomes singular again here.
[2] " To those passed away," *nirvṛitānām*.
[3] *Dharmanetrī* for *-īm*. Cf. Pali *dhammanetti*.
[4] *Kālakarma*, a substantive corresponding to *kālaṃ kṛi*, " to die."
[5] Reading *puṣpadāne* for *puṣpadinne*.
[6] *Prakari*—aorist (habitual); this form frequently occurs in the following stanzas.
[7] To judge from the translation (p. 271) these adjectives are accusative in agreement with *jinam*, " conqueror," in the corresponding passage of the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* (p. 301).

He comes to the people when he is asked about the pre-eminent dharma taught by the Conqueror. He dispels doubts as he utters his words, and he who hearkens to the dharma shall win joy.

He committs no sin through defect of wisdom, but is distinguished for knowing the highest knowledge. His behaviour is divinely pure, fair and kind. He clears the sight and blows away the darkness.

In the world of men he does not become fierce in passion, hatred and folly. But living the pure, untarnished holy life he works infinite endless good.

He does not become malevolent to anyone, nor does he ever suffer loss of wealth. No evil[1] *comes to man through him who has burnt incense at the Conqueror's shrines.*

(375) *Pure, untarnished, rid of sin, calm, serene, perfectly tranquil, after faring through hundreds of* nayutas *of* koṭis *of* kalpas, *exalted in heart he attains the incomparable enlightenment.*

Having established in the perfect griefless way thousands of nayutas *of* koṭis *of beings and set rolling in all the world the matchless wheel, he afterwards passes away, his passions quelled and his lusts destroyed.*

He who has put a flag on monuments of the Exalted One shall beget the resolution to become a Buddha[2] *in the world. He becomes honoured of men as he most nobly fares along in the way of the Conqueror.*

He gains great reputation and becomes wise and laudable. He shall win a clean and pure body. He becomes an object of men's high regard, and revered of devas and Nāgas.

His body is ever golden-coloured, and he becomes the possessor of brilliant robes of cotton, wool, flax, jute[3] *and silk.*

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[1] *Nīgha,* Pali *nigha,* and, compounded, sometimes *anīgha.* According to the *P.E.D.* the form *nigha* "is invented by Com. and scholiasts to explain *anigha,*" which they wrongly analysed into *a-nigha,* instead of into *an-īgho,* from Sk. *ṛigh,* "to tremble," etc. The Com. explain *anīgha* by *niddukkha* (see *P.E.D.* for references), while the Com. on *S.* 5. 57 explains the three *nighas* there enumerated (*rāga, dosa, moha*), as "pains that destroy him." In the translation above the word is taken as = *duḥkha.*

[2] Literally, "the resolution (desire, will) how I am a Buddha," *chandaṃ kathamasmi buddha.*

[3] ? *Dukūla.*

Whatever noble families there be in Jambūdvīpa, wealthy, high-minded and possessing great riches, amongst them is his rebirth.[1] (376) *He escapes birth in low families which are poor.*

No being who acknowledges his sovereignty becomes depraved of heart. He censures[2] *the evil deeds of others and becomes pure in morality and always alert. He is not miserly nor avaricious.*[3] *He becomes freely generous and wins grieflessness. He does not induce others to live for profit.*[4] *He becomes of good repute and is always praised.*

When he sees the Buddha, the great Caravan-leader, glad at heart he ever honours him with sunshades, flags and banners, incense and garlands, always living the untarnished holy life.

Revered and honoured in the world of men, among the devas he wins a celestial noble mansion, charming, bright and beautiful, bedecked with jewels, precious stones and crystals.

He wins bright sovereignty on Meru's summit. All devas become his pupils and bow before him. By teaching the dharma he fills them with joy. Never does he become in the least negligent.[5]

Passing away thence he will, in the world of men, become a noble universal ruler, the foremost of kings. No man whatsoever nourishes evil against him. (377) *He becomes dear to and beloved of men.*

After he has for thousands of nayutas *of* koṭis *of* kalpas *experienced lasting happiness in the world of mortals he goes to the old*[6] *place of former Conquerors, and there he awakens to ageless, deathless and griefless enlightenment.*

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[1] *Tasya bhavatopapatti.* The latter word can only be interpreted as a corrupt abbreviation of *bhavati upapatti.* Two MSS. have *bhagavato°*, which is neither metrical nor agreeable to the context.

[2] *Garahati*, Pali *id.*, Sk. *garhati.*

[3] The text has *anāgṛihīta*, and the MS. evidence seems to be decisive on this reading. But the word gives no appropriate sense. *Anugṛihīta*, the word which first suggests itself as an alternative, is not suitable, on the score either of metre or of meaning. A better reading, which has been adopted for translation, is *anānugṛidhra*, on the analogy of Pali *anānugiddha*, "not greedy after." This word fits in well with the other adjective in the clause, *amatsarin.*

[4] *Na jīvikārthaṃ janayati so pareṣām.*

[5] *Na . . . paramapramatta.*

[6] *Vuḍḍha*, Pali *id.*, Sk. *vṛiddha.* The allusion is to the belief that all Buddhas attain enlightenment in the same place.

When a man has given a flag to the Choicest of beings whose passion is quelled, it is not long before he wins the reward for it. He becomes rich in treasure and incomparably wise, and his retinue will be proud.

Having won wealth he shares it and makes use of it. He knows no fear or dejection of spirits. He progresses through his villages and realm a contented king, and never does he harbour a wicked thought against them.

He becomes a distinguished wealthy merchant, a householder owning wonderful treasures, a king's son, a minister, or even a powerful universal ruler.

He avoids all base families, achieving birth in the very best family,[1] *which is distinguished for wealth. He becomes ever alert and his heart is rid of attachments.*[2] *He shuns sensuous delights as he would a pot of excrement.*

(378) *He wins pre-eminent beauty and the opportune times,*[3] *and becomes a lord in the foremost family. His following becomes loyal, and he is honoured of men.*

He does not occasion a sting of grief in the hearts of others, but is always serene and alert. Neither fire nor weapon has any effect on him. He is always looked up to, and virtuous.

Being virtuous he does not live in indolence. As a man he is always mindful and becomes well-controlled and heart-free. . . .[4]

Active of body, he becomes distinguished, pure of heart, exalted, and truthful. He shall bring joy to those beset by fear, and he shall live as a refuge and a haven for others.

Established in the body of the great knowledge and having rendered great service to mankind,[5] *verily he shall go to the* bodhi *throne at the tree which is the lord of all that grows, and there, without a peer, he shall awaken to the excellent supreme enlightenment.*

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[1] Literally, "gem of a family," *kularatna*. Cf. *Miln.* 262, *dussaratana* "a very fine garment."

[2] *Alīnacitta.*

[3] *Kṣaṇa.* See note on *akṣaṇa*, p. 330, *n.* 1.

[4] There is a lacuna here which prevents a certain interpretation of the remainder, *na tasya . . . dharmasya anto*, "there is no end of his dharma" (?) One MS. has *dhanasya*, "of his wealth."

[5] ? *Karitvā bahukāmanuṣyam.* One MS. has *caritvā*, which makes one think that the correct reading here should be *caritvā bahu-* (or *jana-*) *kāyasyārtham*, "having fared for the sake of the multitude." But the metre is against this.

If this Buddha-field[1] *up from its very foundation were entirely filled with Jāmbūnada gold* (379), *it would be easier to destroy all such glory than it would be to destroy the glory of one who has held even one light over the Buddha's tope.*

His body does not become lustreless. He sits[2] *on a firm throne of crystal*[3]. *He who has put one light on shrines of the Exalted One shall fare through all the world himself endued with light.*

And when a Conqueror appears in the world, he wins access to the Tathāgata, and so do his son, his brother, his father and his kinsfolk. Ere long he shall attain the body of knowledge.

If countless thousands of nayutas *of Buddha-fields became full of mustard seed, it would be easier to count or weigh them than it would be to tell the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.*

Most worthy is the Buddha, most worthy of offerings, who has fared along the noblest pre-eminent way. He who has done honour to him, an ocean of good qualities, will have the highest, unequalled reward.

If all this habitable universe[4] *were full of precious gems of beryl, it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.*

(380) *If all this habitable universe from its very foundation were entirely filled with money,*[5] *it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.*

If thousands of Buddha-fields from their very foundations were entirely filled with fine sandal-wood, it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.

If thousands of Buddha-fields were filled with garments

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[1] See Vol. I, pp. 95 *ff.*

[2] *Acchati*, Pali *id.*, Sk., *āsyati, āste.*

[3] Senart admits a lacuna in the text, the MS. reading being *phalikamtu* (°*bhu*) *jo*. He suggests that the first part of this may be for *phalika*, "crystal," Sk. *sphaṭika*, but the rest remains obscure.

[4] *Sahālokadhātu*, so interpreted in *BR.*, where *Mvyut.* 81 and *Lotus* 400 are cited. According to the same authority *sahā* is "die Erde die Alles ertragende." The same word appears in *Sahāmpati*, a name of Brahmā or Mahā-Brahmā, see p. 60, *n.* 9.

[5] Or "coins," *kārṣāpaṇa*, Pali *kahāpaṇa*. See Vol. I, p. 32, *n.* I.

made of the cloth that is found in the bright deva-world, it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.

Among the devas there are celestial and wondrous jewels, and also among Nāgas, Asuras, men and Mahoragas; it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.

If the earth[1] *were full of all the divine perfumes that are to be found in the world of men and devas, it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.*

It would be easier to know the limits of the points of the compass and of the intermediate points[2] *and say "So great is the sphere of space,"* (381) *than it would be to tell the limit of the body of merit of one who has held one light over the Buddha's tope.*

A sunshade was given by one who had put his trust in the Best of Men, to him the exalted among the devas, the supreme Buddha, the devout, the Valiant Man, lest the sun should scorch the body of the Buddha.

I am he who performed that noblest duty.[3] *A hundred thousand times have I been*[4] *Śakra among the devas. A hundred thousand times, too, have I been Brahmā in the Brahmā-world, for that I gave a sunshade to a Conqueror.*

A hundred thousand times and more have I been a universal ruler, exercising sway over all the regions of the world. I have been a wealthy merchant with abundant stores, and a rich and virtuous householder.

Twenty koṭis *of supreme Sugatas did I study.*[5] *I revered them and honoured them with beds and couches. . . .*[6] *I sprinkled their dwelling-places*[7] *with perfumes. I dispelled*

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[1] *Sahā*. See p. 342, *n*. 4.

[2] Literally, "in the point of the compass and the intermediate points," *diśi vidiśāsu*.

[3] In these stanzas the Buddha cites his own past deeds as examples of meritorious actions.

[4] *Āhu*, must, as Senart says, here be equivalent to *āsim* (or *āsi*, the form in the next line). This, he says, is hardly probable, but the *Mhvu.* form may be due to metrical lengthening of the Pali (Prakrit) form *ahu*, which is sometimes a variant for the 1st pers. *ahum*.

[5] Literally, "were studied by me," *āgamita* for *āgamitā*, which is the reading of one MS.

[6] Lacuna.

[7] *Vihāra*.

all foul scents and warded off from them heat and cold.

I was[1] *glad and most elated in heart as I did them honour with bright and lovely adornments, and* (382) *placed a sunshade over the shrines of the Conquerors.*

Bright does the person of him become and covered with the thirty-two marks of excellence. His body always sparkles with these as a magnificent pillar of gold. His body is also covered with the lesser characteristics[2] *and is lovely as a body of Jāmbūnada gold.*

He becomes possessed of the super-knowledges, and a foremost physician,[3] *as he fares on the courses of the Conqueror. Never does his wealth fail. He becomes revered and honoured of devas.*

Never does he delight in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. Pure in morality, he always lives the holy life. He wanders forth and takes up life in the forest. He is assiduous in meditation and attains distinction.[4]

Never is there any falling off in meditation,[5] *and never does he abandon the thought of enlightenment. Abiding in love and always elated of heart is he who has placed a sunshade on the Conqueror's shrines.*

The stings of grief do not prevail over him who has honoured the Valiant Man with music. He becomes pleasant-voiced in the world of men, and his tones become pure.

He becomes keen of hearing and exalted of heart, (383) *clear of sight and thoughtful. He becomes gifted with a good sense of smell,*[6] *who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines.*

The slender beauty of his tongue becomes lily-like, as a crimson and red[7] *lotus, like that of the devas, as it utters its lovely sound.*

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[1] *Hosi* in text, to be emended into *homi* (historic present), and so with *karoṣi* below in the same stanza.

[2] *Vyañjana.* See p. 40.

[3] *Bhisa* for *bhisaj.*

[4] *Suviśeṣaprāpta.* Cf. *viśeṣādhigama*, p. 125, *n.* 2.

[5] *Dhyānahāni. Śikṣāsamuccaya* seems to read *jñāna*°. See translation, p. 273.

[6] *Śrotendriyeṇa. Śrota* here must be understood as a wrong Sanskritisation of Pali *sota* (Sk. *srotas*), "channel," "passage," "aperture," etc., from *sru*, "to flow," taken as equal to *nāsasota*, "nostril." We thus have the "faculties" (*indriyas*) in their usual order, sight, hearing, smell, to be followed by taste (tongue).

[7] *Pravāḍa* = *prabāla*, e.g. in *prabālapadma*, "red lotus flower."

He does not become stupid,[1] *nor a creature without tongue,*[2] *nor hunchbacked, nor lame, nor crippled of limb. He who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines becomes outstanding, most excellent of soul and most excellent of body.*

No one shall be malevolent towards him, either deva, Nāga, man or Mahoraga. Endued with confidence shall he fare through all the world, who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines.

Never shall he become faint and wan and sick, or leprous either, or blotched of skin. He who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines shall have a body extolled by all.

Large of heart and straight of limb, radiant in beauty like the golden amaranth, firm in concentration and unshaken, does he become (384) *who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines.*

He who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines [shall win][3] *sovereignty among the devas. And when he has come*[4] *to the world of men he becomes honoured, brilliant of energy and invincible.*

Never does he speak an unpleasant word to anyone, nor a harsh word. He who has played on an instrument of music at the Conqueror's shrines, eschews all slander and speaks the truth.

Whoso has put adornments on the Conqueror's shrines and cleansed the topes of Tathāgatas, whoso, clean of speech, has cleansed a tope and washed away the dust in remembrance of him who was without stain,[5]

When he has performed this duty, the due deed of service,[6] *he shall fare through all the world enjoying freedom from*

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[1] *Jaḍa*, but *Śikṣāsamuccaya* has a word for "serpent" here. See translation p. 273.

[2] "Said, for example, of a frog," footnote *ibid.*

[3] Lacuna in text.

[4] *Gatu* for *gata*.

[5] *Rajas* (Pali *rajo* and *raja*), "dust" in its figurative or moral sense.

[6] *Dharmaṃ karitvā karikāradharmam. Karikāra* is inexplicable, although the MSS. seem to be agreed on the reading. The second element of the compound could be taken as *kāra*, "service," but *kari* remains inconstruable. Perhaps the whole compound is synonymous with *karaṇīya*, or even to be emended into it. *Karaṇīyadharma* would mean "a duty to be done." The translation given is tentative only, but it seems to suit the context.

sickness. He who has offered kārīṣi[1] *at the Conqueror's shrines becomes extolled of men.*

He becomes flawless in morality, firm in meditation, enjoying the service (of others and) influential[2] *wealth. He who has offered* kārīṣi *at the Conqueror's shrines exercises great command over men.*

When he sees agreeable women he bethinks him of the cemetery.[3] (385) *He is not agitated by desires of sense nor is he excited in heart. He who has offered* kārīṣi *at the Conqueror's shrines utterly abandons all wish for gain.*

He shall not cause distress in the hearts of others. He shall not find his joy in the enjoyment of food. He who has offered kārīṣi *at the Conqueror's shrines does not become poor nor diseased.*

No faction becomes unfriendly to him. He always loyally adores the Buddhas, the Buddha, the dharma and the Conqueror's disciples, who has offered kārīṣi *at the Conqueror's shrines.*

If many thousands of boundless Buddha-fields were entirely filled with Jāmbūnada gold, it would be easier to destroy all such glory than the glory of one who has offered but one drop of oil at the Conqueror's tope.

At all times he becomes self-controlled and never does he wander about a creature of impulse. Whole of hand and whole of foot does he become who has offered kārīṣi *at the Conqueror's shrines.*

He abandons every wrong way which leads to the bournes of manifold ill. For him who has offered kārīṣi *at the Conqueror's shrines the way to heaven shall be made clear.*

It is not possible to destroy the body of merit of him who, turning his thought to the Saviour of the world,[4] (386) *shall*

[1] An unknown word, though the MSS. seem to be agreed on the form both here and in the immediate sequel, where it recurs several times. It is very likely a foreign word and so left apparently undeclined, for it should be accusative case. Senart suggests a connection with *kārṣāpana* (see Vol. 1, p. 32, *n.* 1). One is also reminded of Pali *karīsa*, a loan word from Tamil denoting a certain measure.

[2] *Aprasahya*, "irresistible."

[3] "From (in) women he begets an awareness of the cemetery," *śmasāna-sañjñāṃ janayati iṣṭikāsu. Iṣṭikā* is here taken as a BSk. from (fem. pl.) for *iṣṭa*, "desirable," etc., which seems to suit the context better than *iṣṭikā* (= *iṣṭakā*) "brick (for the sacrificial altar)"; this latter word occurs on p. 386 (text).

[4] *Sahaloka* = *sahāloka*. See p. 60, *n.* 9.

offer at the Conqueror's shrines a single drop of oil, even a hundredth part of a drop.

If a man should, to win merit, take bricks and carry them to the shrines of the Exalted One, never will the smell of him be unpleasant; his body shall have the fragrance of sandalwood.

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man, becomes for thousands of nayutas *of* koṭis *of* kalpas *magnificent of frame and clean of limb, clear of voice, and possessing the marks of excellence.*

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man wins a noble fragrant mansion, celestial, charming, of fair sandalwood, and there he never experiences craving.

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man wins thousands of koṭis *of Apsarases, lovely and sweet-scented, but never does he feel lust for them.*

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man wins the noblest perfect gardens, gleaming with the water of lotus-pools and gay with celestial lotuses.

(387) *He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man wins a retinue that befits him. He hears the clear, celestial voices, the sounds of the choirs of Suras and Asuras.*

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man shall hear the devas talk of dharma, (*as they say*) "*All the components of life*[1] *are ill and unstable. The gift*[2] *of the noble Benefactors must be accepted.*"

Overcoming old age he goes to heaven, and no more does he pass thence to a bourne of ill. He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man sees the Buddha in the world of mortals.

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man adjudges the talk of the devas to be good,[3] *and, as a deva,*[4] *sets up many a tope for the Buddha. And then when he has fulfilled his time he arises in the world of mortals.*

He who has cleansed a tope of the Supreme Man, remembers, as soon as he is born, the Buddhas whom of yore he worshipped and honoured for infinite kalpas. *He remembers their names, their number*[5] *and their dharma.*

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[1] *Saṃskārā.* See Vol. I, p. 99, *n.* I.
[2] *Sc.* the teaching of the Buddhas.
[3] *Kathāṃ kritvā śubha* (for *śubhām*).
[4] Reading *devo* for *devā.* So Senart.
[5] *Gaṇam,* unless we read *guṇam,* "good qualities."

He who with an anointing offers distinguished, sweetly-fragrant[1] *worship to the Exalted One fares successful in all the world, receiving the best, for that he has given the best of perfumes.*[2]

(388) *And when the Conqueror's teaching is breaking up he does not arise here in Jambudvīpa. But at that time he who has anointed a tope with perfume walks about in heaven.*

He eschews all the foul and disgusting pleasures of sense, being permanently established in the body of morality. He who has anointed a tope with perfume, ever here lives the holy life.

When he passes hence to heaven, he counts[3] *his immense gains in thousands. He who has anointed a tope with perfume does good to many devas.*

And when men become prosperous, benevolent, gentle and kind, then he who has anointed a tope with perfume stands again in Jambudvīpa.

Escaping all ways of desolation, he wins access to the Conqueror. Joyful does he become, happy and amiable, who has anointed a tope with perfume.

Distinguished in speech does he become, and pleasant of tone, dear to, beloved and revered of men. (389) *Tranquil is the well-being of him who has anointed a tope with perfume.*

Whoso has anointed a tope with perfume becomes, too, a noble universal ruler, a merchant, a king's minister, a virtuous householder, and even a Buddha, light-bringer, lord of dharma.

He who, exultant, joyful and eager, has placed a necklace of gems on the shrines of the Conqueror, becomes a king, with the marks of excellence, a powerful, honoured universal ruler.

He shall receive a mansion of gems, bright and pleasant,

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[1] Reading, with one MS., *sumanojñagandhām*, for °*ghoṣām* of the text.

[2] *Varagandha* for *varagandham*.

[3] Literally, "weights," *tulayati*. But this reading necessitates the emendation of *artha* into *arthām*, since an accusative substantive is required to go with *aprameyām*. The sentiment thus agrees with *Śiksāsamuccaya*, p. 305 (p. 273–4, trans.). Senart, however, rejects *tulayati* as unintelligible here and substitutes *tārayati*, which would give the translation "he leads across infinite thousands." This would certainly seem to accord better with the following sentence.

of wondrous beauty, and fair to behold, the very best of palaces, made of precious stones, and studded with costly cornices.[1]

He wins a magnificent royal city full of women and of men, level, well built and well laid out, with abundant wealth in the deep country around,[2]

Well supplied with food, peaceful, cleared of rough stones, strewn with flowers, covered with festoons of bright cloth, full of charming sounds, lovely to behold, (390) *well guarded within, and standing among fields of thriving rice ;*

(A city having) pleasant parks echoing with sweet cries, sparkling with net-work, with spacious entrances, gaily hung with flags and banners, and covered with sunshades, altogether a lovely sight.

Therein are no thieves, no knaves and no rogues. In that realm people do not tamper with the wealth of others. Gifted[3] *with the right deportment*[4] *they are always friendly disposed towards their domain,*[5]

Then the virtuous man goes to the devas, and in the heavens he is thus questioned : " What fair deed shall we perform, and how shall we lead our lives when we go hence to the world of mortals ? "

Quickly he shall reach the Buddhas who are worthy of offerings, and when he sees them he adores the Saviours of the world. When he has performed his act of adoration he begets the wish for enlightenment, and so the Buddhas, who are rid of passion,[6] *proclaim of him :—*

" He becomes possessed of great knowledge and great power, established in a state of distinction, the foremost of beings. He who has given one trustful thought to the Exalted One shall for a thousand kalpas *escape the bournes of ill.*

" This[7] *is what I announce and speak. Let none harbour doubt of what I say,* (391) *lest, losing his knowledge of the*

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[1] *Sphuṭa vedikāhi,* or " surrounded by railings," but *sphuṭa* is " filled with " or " covered with " rather than " surrounded by." For *vedikā* see Vol. 1, p. 153, *n.* 2.

[2] *prabhūtabhogām bahuśo samantā.*

[3] *Upapeta* = *upapanna* in meaning. See Senart's note in Vol. 1, p. 628, on this form which is also found in *Lal. Vist.*, and has an analogous form in Māgadhi.

[4] *Īryāpatha.* See Vol. 1, p. 18, *n.* 5.

[5] Literally " in their domain," *vijite.*

[6] *Hataraja* for *hatarajā.*

[7] *Imu* for *imam,* which is the reading of one MS.

Buddha, afterwards in Avīci he become wretched and miserable."

He who brings network coverings to the shrines of the Light of the world who is a great field of merit,[1] *in his alertness escapes the net of Māra and becomes a king of men, a Daśabala, free of the lusts.*

In his alertness he escapes states of desolation, and always reveres the Buddha, who is rid of passion.[2] *He always becomes a strong universal ruler. To all the world around he goes as a virtuous man.*

Among the devas he becomes an honoured lord of devas. Quickly he shall win there the span of life of devas, their glory, their beauty, their ease and matchless sovereignty.

He shall win the sight, the hearing, the smell and the touch which the devas have.[3] *He shall be looked up to, and mighty, and will not feel a craving for pleasure with the Apsarases.*

Passing away thence he comes to the world of men, where he becomes fragrant of body and distinguished in beauty. He who has spread[4] *a net on the Conqueror's shrines never experiences loss.*

(392) *He becomes valiant, firmly devout, alert, and takes no delight in the enjoyment of pleasures of sense. He who has spread a net over the Conqueror's shrines, withdrawing from the world*[5] *becomes high-minded.*

He escapes all inopportune times; for him are the special opportune times. He who has spread a net over the Conqueror's shrines pays incomparable worship to the Buddhas.

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[1] Cf. Vol. 1, p. 276, *n.* 2.

[2] *Hataraja,* for *hatarajam.*

[3] For these attributes of the devas cf. Vol. 1, p. 25.

[4] *Choretvā,* from *chorayati* (caus. of *chur*), "to inlay," "veneer," "set with mosaic ornaments" (*MW.*). Senart cites *Lal. Vist.* 153, 284 (cf. *Divy.* 6), where the verb means "to leave," and assumes that the idea conveyed by the verb here is that of bringing a net and "leaving" it as a pious offering. But it is more likely that the verb is meant to convey the mosaic-like effect of a net spread on a monument. The past part. *churita* has the meaning of "coated" or "spread." There certainly must be more implied in the use of the verb than the simple idea of "giving," which Senart says should be the translation of it. It is to be noted that on some of its occurrences in this passage the *v.l.* is *chādetvā,* "having covered."

[5] *Naiṣkramyato,* a participial form corresponding to the adjectival *naiṣkramyin.* The use of *naiṣkramya* and its related forms in the *Mhvu.* (e.g. pp. 107, 173 text) shows that it was felt to be a formation from *nis-kramati,* "to go away from" sc. the world (Pali *nikkhamati*) rather than from *nis-kāma,* "freedom from desire." See Senart's notes pp. 443, 591 of Vol. 1, and cf. *P.E.D.* s.v. *nekkhamma.*

Never does he give up the thought of enlightenment. He never becomes corrupt of morals nor dissolute. He who has spread a net over the Conqueror's shrines attains the passionless, pure dharma.

He shall always avoid ill-favoured complexion and all want of understanding. He who has spread a net over the Conqueror's shrines fares with distinction through all the world.

He who has spread a net over the Conqueror's shrines comes to have pure food. He shall have magnificent and bright garments, well-coloured and beautiful to look on.

He who gladly, joyfully and eagerly removes withered flowers from the Conqueror's shrines, detesting evil and harsh speech (393) *shall win the favour of the Daśabala, the Caravan-leader.*

He becomes amiable, clean of body, looked up to and honoured by the people. His king does not become incensed with him who removes faded flowers from a shrine.

A Bodhisattva who, established in the body of morality, shall take and throw away from the Conqueror's shrines faded flowers put there long ago, shall abandon all the wrong ways.

He shall always escape grief and hate. He shall utterly avoid all passions in his body. For infinite kalpas *he who shall remove faded flowers from a shrine, shall enjoy confidence.*

He becomes a Buddha, a Caravan-leader in the world,[1] *to be honoured by devas with infinite splendour. He who shall remove faded flowers from a shrine becomes adorned and pure in body.*

There is a splendid reward[2] *for him who shall remove faded flowers from shrines and put in their place the five fair celestial flowers, the coral-tree flower and the trumpet-flower.*[3]

Neither poison nor weapon assails him, nor fire or the blazing brand. (394) *Wicked thieves do not prevail over him who shall remove faded flowers from shrines.*

It is not easy to relate the very great merit won by him

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[1] *Saha* = *sahā*. See p. 60, *n.* 9.
[2] *Vipāku* for *vipāka*.
[3] *Pāṭala*, Sk. and Pali *pāṭalī*, Bignonia suaveolens. Only two of the five celestial trees are named here.

who, gladly, joyfully and eagerly has thrown away[1] *drooping flowers from the Conqueror's tope.*

He becomes tall[2] *and stately of body, always performing the noblest fair deeds. The noble supreme enlightenment is not far off for him who throws away withered flowers from the Conqueror's tope.*

He who, begetting a wish for enlightenment into the highest truth, shall sprinkle sandal-wood powder on the Guide, becomes ever worthy of honour in the world, and amiable, happy and glorious.

All the world bows to him as to its king, devas, Nāgas, men and Mahoragas. Henceforth, a hero, he rules all the thousands of flourishing worlds under his sovereignty.

Those who dwell in the world under his rule abide in knowledge of the excellent wisdom. Passing beyond all sins, they practise the dharma among devas and men.

His retinue becomes loyal, (395) *virtuous, mindful and intelligent. He fares through the whole world enjoying confidence. He brings people joy, for that is his wish.*

His rich voice becomes resonant and clear. In giving his commands to men he is friendly and gentle in tone. No one shall think of lording it over him.[3] *He becomes looked up to by the multitude.*

He has affability, generosity, beneficence, and a sense of the common good of the people.[4] *He who shall reverently bow before a tope of the Conqueror does not shout out and give way to rage.*

No more does he fall into a desolate way. He avoids base

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[1] The text has *choretvā*, but this can hardly be the right reading. The context definitely requires a verb of the sense given in the translation, and neither the literal sense of *chorayati* nor the derived one assumed by Senart above (see p. 350, *n.* 4) fits here. For there can be no merit in either spreading or placing (giving) faded flowers. It seems necessary, therefore, to read *chardetvā* from *chardayati*, Pali *chaḍḍeti*, " vomit," " throw away."

[2] *Udviddha*, cf. *udvedha*, " height." See Vol. 1, p. 154, *n.* 10.

[3] Literally, " no one shall beget (the wish of) sovereignty over him," *na tasya kopi jane īśvarīyam* (Pali *issariya*).

[4] These are the four *saṅgrahavastūni* (Pali *sangahavatthūni*). See Vol. 1, p. 4, *n.* 5. In Vol. 1 the fourth term is *samānasukhaduḥkhatā*, which was translated as " equanimity in prosperity and adversity." In the present instance, however, it is *samānārthatā*, and thus identical with the fourth term in Pali texts. It is also found in *Lal. Vist.* 30. The meaning given to this word in the *P.E.D.* " sensus communis or feeling of common good " seems to be confirmed here by its being qualified by *bahujanasya*, " of the multitude."

families in all the world. He who reverently salutes a tope of the Buddha becomes rich with abundant stores.

And when he is gone to the deva-world he becomes a lord of devas. When he becomes a man, he is a king. He never suffers loss who reverently salutes a tope of the Buddha.

Never shall he speak an irrelevant word, but he always utters the well-spoken speech. People cannot have enough[1] *of his speaking,* (*but are eager*) *that he should utter even but one fair word.*

(396) *When he has fulfilled his time he sees*[2] *the Conqueror. He shall dwell in a royal city that is full of pleasant sounds. Standing on Indra's column with flowers in his hands, he shall eagerly shower them on the Saviour of the world.*

He sees the Conqueror in his own home, eating his food and speaking of the dharma. Full of faith he reveres the Conqueror. Taking a bowl he approaches the Guide.

The Conqueror, knowing his thoughts and his noble conduct, accepts the bowl from him. In the deva-world glory shall be his, and in the world of men he shall be distinguished, without a peer and worthy of offerings.

Knowing that the bowl has been accepted[3] *by the Sugata, he is thrilled and filled with joy. Then looking to the deva-world he forms this resolution :—*

" May I set free beings who are in great misery. May I be an eye to the blind in all the world. Having won the light may I dispel the gloom and darkness. May I lead across the beings who have not crossed.

" May I in my emancipated[4] *state set free the unfree. Having attained the calm, the noble supreme enlightenment, may I fare without a tremor through the whole world. Having awakened to the knowledge may I release those in misery."*[5]

(397) *Aware of this vow, for what was in his heart was known to him, the Conqueror smiled, and proclaimed " Thou wilt become a Buddha, a Saviour of the world."*

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[1] Literally, " are unsatisfied with," *atṛipta* (for *atṛiptā*).

[2] *Adṛiśāsi* aorist (habitual). See Senart's note in Vol. I, p. 377 on the form *adṛiśā*. Cf. *addaśāsi*, immediately below.

[3] *Gṛihīta* for *gṛihītam*.

[4] Or " unconditioned," *asaṃskrita*, Pali *asamkhata*, *i.e.* free of the *saṃskāras*, or the components of life producing re-birth.

[5] Compare this with the usual *Mhvu.* formula expressing the mission of the Buddha. See Vol. I., p. 34, *etc.*, and cf. *M.* I. 235, *D.* 3. 54 *f.*

So spoke the Exalted One, and Viśuddhamati, the monk, and the world of devas, men and Asuras were elated, and rejoiced at his words.

Here ends the *sūtra* called *Avalokita*, a supplement[1] of the *Mahāvastu*.

THE FINAL DEFEAT OF MĀRA

When the heroic Bodhisattva came to the river Nairañjanā, then did Kāla,[2] the great Nāga, all alone, begin to reflect.

" How," thought he, " this great earth resounds like a beaten pan of metal! Without a doubt a great hero is about to appear in the world."

Hearing the great earth, filled with gladsome noise, resound, he emerged from his lair and looked out all around him.

And as the great Nāga looked out he saw the peerless Supreme Man, like a blazing fire-brand, or like lightning among the clouds.

The Lion-man went on his way along the banks of the Nairañjanā, unhurried and undisturbed,[3] bright as a sacrificial fire. Then Kāla the Nāga extolled the Lord.

Elated and filled with joy and happiness he adored the Bodhisattva, and uttered these verses :—

" Thou art like the great and glorious Saviours of the world whom I saw of yore. I have no doubt of this.

(398) *" From the way[4] thou liftest up thy right foot, as thou scannest the regions around, O Supreme of Men, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

" From the way this earth resounds like a beaten pan of metal, there is no doubt, Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

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[1] *Parivāra*, cf. the use of the same term to denote " the last book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (the "Accessory "), the Appendix, a sort of résumé and index of the preceding books " (*P.E.D.*). Only, in the present instance the supplement is foisted into the middle of the work.

[2] Two if not three different versions of the episode of Kāla have already been given in the first and second *Avalokita-sūtras*. Here is yet another and distinct version.

[3] *Anigha*. See p. 339, *n*. 1.

[4] *Yathā*. See p. 250, *n*. 4.

"From the way my dark and gloomy abode is all suffused with radiance, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"From the way the heaven everywhere stands filled with splendour, there is no doubt, Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"From the way my vision is unobstructed and clear, O Guide, there is no doubt, Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"From the way thou dost doff thy robe, and from the way thou goest down to the cool Nairañjanā, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"From the way the Nairañjanā is gaily covered with flowers, there is no doubt, Great Hero that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"From the way flowers rain down and devas throw their garments, and from the way trees bow before thee, to-day thou wilt become Buddha."

The son of earth's highest king hies him to the clear full stream and plunges in. Emerging he anoints himself and approaches the seat of former Buddhas.

Renouncing[1] *this great earth, the four continents with their mountains, as though they were but a tuft of grass,* **(399)** *the Lion-man begs some grass of Svastika,*[2] *so that seated thereon he might attain the noble enlightenment.*

Eagerly Svastika gave him who was like a disc of gold a handful of grass that was like soft cotton, and he took it in hands that were like soft cotton.

Then the Bodhisattva pushed on with the valour of a lion[3] to acquire unsurpassed immortality. He pushed on valiant as a Nāga, a bull, a swan, a curlew; irresistibly valiant; valiant in his noblest birth; valiant in his best birth; valiant in his knowledge of his former births;[4] valiant in his fitting

[1] There is an incoherence in the text here, due either to a lacuna or to a misplacing of the verses; perhaps the latter is more likely, as the passage bears some relation to p. 401 (text).

[2] See p. 126.

[3] *Siṃhavikrāntaṃ vikrame.* Cf. the similar passage, p. 249.

[4] *Pūrvotpāda.* See p. 245, *n.* 3.

birth ;[1] valiant in virtue of the former birth in which he made his vow ;[2] valiant as one who routs his foes ; invincibly valiant ; (400) valiant as a Great Man ; valiant as one without attachments ; valiant in his high-mindedness ; valiant in his nobility ; valliant in his fearlessness ; valiant as a Beneficent One bringing light ; he pushed on valiantly to triumph in the great conflict and to grasp supreme immortality.

Then as the Bodhisattva thus[3] pushed on, there moved round him from the right five hundred *vāṇa*[4] birds, five hundred flamingoes, five hundred curlews, five hundred peacocks, five hundred pheasants, and five hundred maidens. Kāla, the Nāga king, saw this, and when he had seen it he again said to the Bodhisattva, "Go, Great Recluse, go, Great Recluse. The way thou comest, O Great Recluse, is the way the exalted Great Recluse Krakucchanda came, and he awakened to the incomparable perfect enlightenment. To-day, O Great Recluse, thou too comest along that way, and to-day thou shalt awaken to the incomparable perfect enlightenment. Along the way thou comest, O Great Recluse, did the exalted Konākamuni come and he awakened to the incomparable perfect enlightenment. Thou, too, O Great Recluse, comest along that way, and to-day thou, too, wilt awaken to the incomparable perfect enlightenment. Along the way thou comest, O Great Recluse, the exalted Great Recluse Kāśyapa came and he awakened to the incomparable perfect enlightenment. Thou, too, comest along that way, O Great Recluse, and to-day thou wilt awaken to the incomparable perfect enlightenment."

Then Kāla, the Nāga king, extolled the Bodhisattva as he went to the *bodhi* throne, in these verses :—[5]

> **(401)** *Then when Kāla had seen him who had lived in mastery for thousands of* kalpas, *for thousands of* koṭis *of* kalpas, *he addressed the foremost of the Śākyans as he moved on.*

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[1] Reading *yugyotpāda* for *yugot°*. See p. 245, *n*. 4.

[2] See p. 245, *n*. 5.

[3] The text repeats all the details.

[4] An unknown bird. The reading seems certain here and below.

[5] The quotation does not commence strictly at the right place, for the verses themselves start with an introduction to the eulogy.

"The way thou goest, O Best of bipeds, calmly and fearlessly, thou wilt to-day awaken to the life that tends to the weal of man and of all beings.[1]

"Thou art set on the gentle way which those Buddhas of yore did tread. To-day, O Great Hero, thou wilt become Buddha.

"The way trodden by the exalted Buddha Krakucchanda, the sage named Konāka, and the exalted Buddha Kāśyapa, that same way thou dost tread, O Lord.

"Go the way that Krakucchanda, Konākamuni and Kāśyapa went. O Hero, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"From the way thou holdest the grass, from the way thou dost ask Svastika for it, from the way thou dost approach the bodhi *throne, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"The same honour is paid to thee, O scion of the Śākyans, as the saintly and reverent Śuddhāvāsa devas there paid to those Buddhas.

"The heavenly mansions everywhere are filled with splendour as in the days of former Buddhas;[2] *there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"Inasmuch as my gloomy and darksome abode has been all suffused with radiance, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as my vision is unobstructed and clear, O Guide, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as this earth resounds like a beaten pan of metal, (402) *there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"Inasmuch as the winds blow and yet the trees stand unmoved, and inasmuch as the birds warble, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

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[1] The text here cannot be right. The MSS. read *janikṣayāya,* where, as Senart suggests, *jani* may be Pali for *jyāni,* and the compound could thus mean "for the end and destruction of (for) all creatures (*sarvasatvāna*)" But such an expression is utterly foreign to Buddhist language, and Senart emends into *jinapāramitāye,* "for (in) the perfection of a Conqueror." We would thus have "thou wilt awaken (*lit.* awakest) to a course of life (*caritaṃ budhyasi*) in the perfection of a Conqueror," which leaves *sarvasatvāna* (g. pl.) difficult, if not impossible, to construe. In these circumstances it is suggested that the original reading was *janakāyasyārthāya,* "for the sake of the multitude of men," which may render it possible to take *sarvasatvāna* as a genitive dependent on *arthāya* implied from the preceding compound. The fifth syllable is long instead of short, both in this emendation as well as in Senart's.

[2] Literally "as by former (Buddhas)," *purimehi yathā.*

"Inasmuch as the earth is everywhere covered with flowers—for it is at the arising of Buddhas that it becomes so adorned.

"Inasmuch as five hundred vāṇa *birds salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"Inasmuch as five hundred falcons[1] *salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"Inasmuch as five hundred flamingoes salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as five hundred curlews salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as five hundred peacocks salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as five hundred pheasants salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as five hundred full water-jars salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha.

"Inasmuch as five hundred maidens salute thee from the right, there is no doubt, O Great Hero, that to-day thou wilt become Buddha."

With his face set towards a Conqueror's perfection (403) *he approached the seat of former Buddhas. At the auspicious time,*[2] *the Light of the world drew near to the noblest tree.*

And Kāla, the Nāga king, extolled the Bodhisattva when he had reached his throne :—

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[1] ? *Pattri,* not mentioned in the passage, p. 356, of which this is a repetition.

[2] *Svastikakāle.* Senart, however, suggests that the meaning may be, "when he saw Svastika" (see p. 126), but it is difficult to see why this one incident among the many which marked the occasion of the Buddha's coming to the *bodhi* tree should be singled out here.

"From the way thou hast spread thy bed with thy gentle webbed hands,[1] *and from the way thou hast sat cross-legged, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"Inasmuch as five hundred vāṇa *birds salute thee from the right, near the king of trees, to-day thou wilt become Buddha.*

"To-day, O Hero among men, thou pursuest the way of life followed by Buddhas of yore. Thou wilt destroy the army of the treacherous, cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry.

"Inasmuch as the two and thirty marks of a Great Man are on thy body, there is no doubt that thou wilt shine[2] *forth after crushing Māra's host.*

"To-day, O Destroyer of lusts and intoxication, having by means of knowledge eradicated the āśravas *from thy heart,*[3] *thou wilt gain enlightenment, and come to cease to exist.*[4]

"To-day, there will be no challenger[5] *to thee and the dharma." So did Kāla, the great Nāga, the noblest and best of serpents, gladly and reverently speak and say, "To-day thou wilt become Buddha."*

The Bodhisattva approved[6] and said, "Even so, O great Nāga, even so, O great Nāga, to-day I shall awaken to the perfect enlightenment"

The Lord of bipeds, his body braced[7] *with joy and gladness, spoke to Kāla and said,* (**404**) *"To-day, O Kāla, thy word proves true. To-day I shall attain the supreme enlightenment.*

"Even this great earth shall be mountainless, the moon shall fall from the sky, sooner than I shall fail to get there. Be joyful, O king of serpents.

"The wind shall cease to blow[8] *on Meru's summit, earth*

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[1] Literally "with gentle webs," *mṛidūhi jālehi*. Senart, however, interprets with reference to the interlacing of the stalks of the straw as it was arranged to form a bed.

[2] The text has the present *virocasi*.

[3] Literally, "the *āśravas*(-tainted) heart," *sāśravaṃ cittam*. Cf. Pali *sāsava*, e.g. *D*. 3. 112, *iddhi yā sāsavā* "super-normal power which is concomitant with the mental intoxicants." (*Dial*. 3. 106.)

[4] *Vibhotsyasi* (*vibhavati*).

[5] "One speaking against," *prativaktā*.

[6] *Saṃrāgeti* for *saṃrādhayati*. Cf. *ārāgeti* for *ārādhayati*, p. 330, *n*. 2.

[7] *Parivṛiṃhita*.

[8] *Vidhamati*, Pali *id*., from *vidhmā*, intransitive use, "blow itself out." Cf. *J*. 1. 284.

and sky shall meet, sooner than one such as I, who have reached my throne, shall fail to attain immortality."

Seated there athwart the foot of the tree[1] *he made this solemn utterance :—*

"To-day, when the night passes away, I will destroy[2] *the root of all existence leaving not a trace behind."*

When Kāla had praised the perfect Buddha with the thirty-two marks, he saluted him from the right and forthwith went away.[3]

As the Bodhisattva was seated there he won the five awarenesses,[4] namely, awareness of the past, of calm, of ease, of the impossible, and, finally, the supreme awareness that he would that day awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He also mastered the four rules of polity,[5] namely, those relating to conciliation, punishment, dissension and gifts. Then wicked Māra flew through the air to where the *bodhi* tree was, and standing in the air he adored the Bodhisattva with his joined hands raised. But the Bodhisattva addressed wicked Māra in these verses.

(405) *"Thou standest in the aery sky, eager and alert like the king of beasts, with thy hands joined in adoration and veneration. Thou dost here venerate him who is worthy to be adored."*

[Māra replied :]

"Lo, I am a lord, the wise sovereign of all creatures, knowing ease and ill, and understanding the cause of them in the world.

"So that thou, O glorious Hero, mayst have good health in the days of thy youth, enjoy the pleasures of men and live in thy father's house.

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[1] ? *tiryaṃ va drumavarasya samīpe*, "across near the tree," *tiryaṃ* being interpreted as = Pali *tiriyam*, Sk., *tiryañc*. Or, is *tiryam* here = "a bird" (animal) ? If so, the meaning would be "like a bird," qualifying *girāṃ pramuñci*.

[2] *Ūhanāmi*, Pali from *ud-han*.

[3] These two verses are misplaced here; they should come at the end of Kāla's eulogy on the preceding page.

[4] This group of five *saṃjñās* does not seem to be mentioned in Pali texts.

[5] This sentence, as Senart observes, is obviously an interpolation here. He compares *Yājñavālkya* 1. 345.

"Dwell in the great, joyous and rich sea-girt land. O Gotama, rule thy realm, offering the great sacrifices,

"The horse-sacrifice, the man-sacrifice, the white-lotus sacrifice,[1] *and the sacrifice of the unbarred house.*[2] *After thou hast offered these sacrifices thou wilt become an immortal god.*

"For having offered these sacrifices the Trāyastriṃśa devas and those of Indra are happy [in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures].[3]

"Do thou, my friend, listen[4] *then, and do as I say, lest thou be lost in the future through abandoning the joys of this present world."*

These were the verses that Māra spoke before the Bodhisattva, and to him speaking thus the Bodhisattva made reply :—

"O thou wanton of thought, thou wicked one, with what intent art thou come hither? Thou art no lord, thus, nor king, nor Brahmā, nor Prajāpati.

(406) *"If thou wert lord thou wouldst not supplicate me with joined hands raised. I have no delight in prosperous birth, whether it be low, high or mean. I am indifferent to thee.*[5]

"I have no delight in the pleasures of prosperity, whether they be low, high or mean. I am indifferent to thee.

"As for those five strands of sensual pleasures which the world thinks good, I have no delight in them. I am indifferent to thee.

"As an elephant which has broken a snare or rent its bonds goes wherever it wishes. . . .[6]

"So have I broken the bonds that bound me to my home,

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[1] *Puṇḍarīka.* See p. 224, *n.* 8.
[2] *Nirargaḍa.* See p. 224, *n.* 7.
[3] The line is incomplete. *Kāmakānām,* with which it ends is also obviously incorrect, but suggests an original *kāmānām.*
[4] The text has *kruhi,* which is inexplicable, and is probably a contaminated form affected by the next word *karohi.* It has been assumed in the translation the original word was some form of *śru.*
[5] *Te,* acc. dependent on verbal notion in *anapekṣa.* But the identical expression in the next stanza could be rendered "I am indifferent to them," *i.e. te* can there be acc. pl. of 3rd pers. pronoun, referring to *kāmā.* But here the antecedent substantive is fem. sg.
[6] Lacuna. The simile of the elephant breaking its bonds is found also at *Sn.* 29 and *Thīg.* 301.

and am on my way to a fair city."[1] *"Behold the dharma,"*[2] *did those in the sky, glad and joyful, exclaim.*

Again did Māra fly through the air to where the *bodhi* tree was and stood in the air. The Bodhisattva said to him, "Who art thou?" And Māra replied:—

"I am the lord who intoxicates[3] *devas and men. The fair*[4] *Suras and Asuras who dwell in my domain, though caught in the cage of recurrent birth, are overcome by intoxication, and, drunk with pleasure, escape the snare of death."*

But he who had vision of the highest good, the great Seer on his throne, replied to Māra with melodious speech. His words perfectly befitted one[5] *who was endued with an ocean of virtue and* **(407)** *had the tone of the bull-voice of the "Bull-Man."*

"Brave in heart art thou," said he, "if thou art lord over thyself. If thou art lord over sensual desires, then art thou truly without a lord.

"The sons of the kings of men are sick with love of women. Men with diadems of pendant gems and jewels fall in the mire.

"Then on the backs of these men, the great lords who have thus succumbed, wanton women fall, who, caught in the impulse of their desire, passion and intoxication, laugh; and at that moment these women are become the slaves of Yama.

"Thou who art fallen under the thraldom of women vauntest thy sovereignty. Behold how thou art deluded. There is no sovereignty for him who is afflicted by sensual desires. There neither has been nor will be. Of this I am certain.

"I am he who this day has in fight vanquished thee and thy power. When the rising sun begins to shine I shall become Buddha. For, O Dark One, none who has sat on this throne in his last incarnation fails to arise as a Buddha."

Māra said, "Why roarest thou as thou sittest at thy ease by the fair tree? For dost thou not yet see here, with their

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[1] *Varaṃ puram, sc.* Nirvana. See p. 143.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 192, *n.* 4.
[3] *Īśvara madakara.*
[4] Reading °*varā* for °*varo.*
[5] Literally "(speech,) the perfection of appropriateness," (*vacanaṃ*) *ākalpakoṭi.*

thousand warlike crests, the armed hordes of Piśācas, with many a Rākṣasa and many a Yakṣa, (408) *a glad host of four arms, equipped with many a magical device?"*[1]

The Bodhisattva replied :—

Were nayutas *of* koṭis *of Māras assembled, a gathering of able heroes in a pent-up flood, I would not move a hair because of them, much less because of thee, thou Son of Darkness. Go thy way. Why dost thou prate to no purpose?*

Māra thus rebuffed by the Bodhisattva went to his own abode and related the matter to his retinue. "This Bodhisattva, my friends," said he, "who is seated beneath the *bodhi* tree is desirous of awakening to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He must be removed from his throne lest the multitude of men desert my dominion."

Then his son named Janīsuta[2] spoke, and said, "Father, do not hinder him. Let him awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. I have learnt what his conception was like, what his birth and what his leaving home, and how he came to the *bodhi* throne and sat there. To-day he will awaken to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. There is no being or collection of beings capable of stopping the Bodhisattva from winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment."

Seated like an invincible lion is he at the foot of the tree, irradiating all the world. No good will it ever be to us if thou assaultest a seer like him.

He is endued with morality, forbearance, and austerity, and has reached the most perfect of all states. (409) *Such is he with his banner raised, that, like an elephant, he will rive all his bonds.*

Do thou regard this supreme one of all bipeds. He shines like the moon when it is full. How can such a design succeed? Senseless is he who undertakes to do such harm.

No one would go down a trench of burning coals; no one would touch a snake[3] *with his hand. The blind man frightened by dogs behind him falls unseeing into a hidden well.*

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[1] *Mantrayantra.*
[2] See p. 308.
[3] *Āśīviṣa,* Pali *āsīvisa,* of which the BSk. (also *āsīviṣa*) is a Sanskritisation. (See P.E.D.)

So are these people deficient in intelligence. No wise counsel is theirs who are so disposed, who, unbelieving and unseeing, fall upon such a pure pasture.[1]

If thou dost not heed these words now, thou wilt remember them when thou hast strayed from the right way and art wandering through the four regions of the earth like a vagrant jackal.

Kāla, his minister, spoke these verses :—

Everyone who follows his own haughty design, without sense or wit, falls into folly (**410**), *like Janīsuta here, my lord, who, ill-advised, gives improper counsel.*

Then Māra having donned his great armour came near to the Bodhisattva. But he was routed by the mere sound of the Bodhisattva's cough. Again did Māra don his great armour, and he drew near to the Bodhisattva at the foot of the *bodhi* tree with his great army of four arms, including Kumbhāṇḍas, Yakṣas, and Rākṣasas. Making the whole ground for thirty *yojanas* around to throb, he mounted his chariot, to which a thousand horses had been yoked, carrying a dazzling bow, armoured and mailed, with banners and flags flying, to the accompaniment of many drums, tabours, kettledrums, cymbals and trumpets, and attended by an army of frightful and monstrous beasts which made a rumbling clamour. Some of these beasts had the faces of horses, others of buffaloes, others of asses, others of goats, others of rams, others of deer, others of lions, others of tigers, others of panthers, others of bears, others of dogs, others of hogs, others of cats, others of ravens, others of cocks, others of vultures, and others of eagles. Some were headless trunks, others were one-headed, others many-headed, others two-headed. Some were eyeless, others one-eyed. Some were without hands, others without feet. Some were without arms, others had ten arms. Some carried knives, others swords, others hatchets, others spears,[2] others

[1] *Gocara.* Perhaps the rendering should be extended into a paraphrase, "one whose pasture is pure." Cf. the similar use of *gocara* in Pali, e.g. *Dh.* 22, *ariyānaṃ gocare ratā,* "finding delight in the pasture of the good," and *ib.* 92 *vimokho yesaṃ gocaro,* "whose pasture is liberty."

[2] *Bhiṇḍipāla,* Sk. *bhindipālā,* Pali *bhindivāla,* Prk. *bhiṇḍimāla* and *°vāla.* See *P.E.D.* for references.

pikes, others tridents, others ploughshares, others discuses,[1] others clubs, others hammers, others axes, others scimitars, and others skulls.[2] Some breathed fire from their mouths, others snakes. Some brandished in the air wheels with blades on their rims. Some rushed on foot against the Bodhisattva carrying an elephant, (411) others carrying a buffalo, others a horse, others an ass, others a headless trunk, others skulls, others a snake, others lions, others tigers, others leopards, others bears, others oxen, others buffaloes, others death's-heads,[3] others mountain-tops, and others whole trees including the roots. Some rained down from the sky showers of hot embers, others showers of snakes and others showers of stones. Some rushed on the Bodhisattva mounted on elephants, others on horses, others on bulls, others on buffaloes, others on asses, others on oxen, others on deer, and others on hogs. But the Bodhisattva did not turn a hair or change his heart.

Then Māra, in his chariot drawn through the air by oxen and horses, conjured up his host, including horses and elephants, and advanced to the Bodhisattva's noble seat.

Mounting his chariot drawn by thousands of horses, and carrying a dazzling bow, he uttered a fearful cry, "Slay him, slay him, quickly seize him."

Terrible hordes of Rākṣasas, with the features of elephants, asses, horses and bulls, armed with clubs surged menacingly against the foe-slaying Bodhisattva.

Some big-bellied snakes rose from the ground and cried, "Slay him, seize him"—a horrible cry of desperation.

Others breathed snakes from their mouths, others fire, and others venom. Hordes of Piśācas carrying elephants rushed on foot to the assault.

(412) *Some carried[4] mountain-tops as they attacked the Sage. Other hordes of Piśācas rained down from the sky showers of hot embers.*

[1] *Cakra*, "a sharp, circular missile weapon, especially applied to the favourite weapon of Viṣṇu." (*M.W.*)

[2] *Karanka*, must be taken in its literal sense, as there is no evidence that the word was ever used as the name of a particular kind of weapon.

[3] *Śīrṣakaroṭi*, practically synonymous with *karanka*. The word translated "carrying" in this passage is *grihya*, which, if the application were to living things only might be rendered "leading."

[4] *Uggiramāna*, Pali *uggirati*, Sk. *udgurate*.

Others hovering in the air brandished wheels with blades on their rims. In the sky was the clash of weapons making a frightful thunderous din.

But the Bodhisattva, endued with the roots of virtue acquired during several *koṭis* of *kalpas*, thrice stroked his head, and thrice his bent knee. Then he struck the earth with his right hand, a gem of a hand, marked with a bright streak, beautified by being painted with the essence of lac, soft like cotton to the touch, and with copper-coloured nails. And the earth thus struck reverberated. Deeply and distinctly it resounded and re-echoed. Just as a vessel of metal made in Magadha when beaten on a mountain-top resounds and re-echoes deeply, so did the earth when struck by the Bodhisattva's hand.[1] And Māra's army as it reverberated was split, torn, broken up,[2] and turned away. Their elephants, horses and chariots collapsed; their feet, hands and weapons collapsed. They lost their direction, and taking the wrong way fell into the river Nairañjanā. Some fell on their left side, others on their right, others on their backs, others on their feet, others on their knees, others on their heads, and others on their faces. In fear and terror they cried out to one another.

He, the Lord of bipeds, struck the earth with a hand soft as cotton. (**413**) *The earth with the sea and the rocks shook. By him was the host of Namuci broken.*

Then, because of the might of the Bodhisattva, Māra left the neighbourhood of the bodhi-*tree. And as he fled, many a horse and elephant and warrior plunged down the banks of the river named Nairañjanā.*

With his horsemen, chariots, and armour fallen and crushed, Māra, together with the hordes of Rākṣasas, ignorant of their direction, fell over the banks of the Nairañjanā, and all their weapons were lost.

The demon's host, terrified by the might of magic power, stampeded for many a thousand yojanas. *Then, though they were still not without fear, and trembled,* (*they cried out to one another*), *"We are fortunate to be alive and out of danger."*

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[1] The text repeats the description of the hand given above.
[2] *Lujje* and *pralujje*. See p. 323 *n* 4.

Others of the demon host sobbed and wept. Meanwhile devas rained down flowers of the coral-tree and of the karkārava,[1] *and in exultation acclaimed*

The victory of the prince.[2] *In the sky there were roars of drums, and shouts of " hurrah ! "* (414) *re-echoed in the three worlds. The clear firmament was shaken when the Master won his victory.*

A deva went to the deva-world and said :—

" Not in a hundred years would it be possible to tell the nature of the True, Supreme Man, who has gone to the banks of the Nairañjanā. What I shall relate is merely by way of example.

" I saw one who shone like the gold of Jāmbūnada, with a radiance a fathom's length,[3] *and with his body bright with the marks of excellence. Travelling all alone he set out for the Nairañjanā and the* bodhi-*throne.*

" Each time he set his feet, which were like lotus-petals, on the ground, the earth joyously quaked with many a glad rumble.

" I saw the hosts of Māra assemble from all sides, a thousand koṭis *of Yakṣas. They caused me fear and my heart did tremble. But they did not produce a quiver in him who is the essence of being.*

" Even on earth his true nature was not known, but all around a thousand koṭis *of devas proclaimed, " He will become a Conqueror,"* (415) *and in exultation they waved their garments about.*

" I saw five hundred partridges, peacocks, flamingoes, cuckoos and sparrows ; varied were their songs as he set out towards the Nairañjanā and the bodhi-*throne.*

" I saw a path fashioned by the immortals, which led to the Nairañjanā and the bodhi-*throne, a path of incense, flowers and garlands, bright with blossoms and fragrantly scented.*

[1] See Vol. 1, p. 221, *n.* 1.

[2] Literally, " spoke out,," " The victory is the prince's," supplying *iti* with *vācamudīrayanti vijayo pārthivasya.*

[3] Reading *vyāmaprabha* for *vyoma°* of the text. Cf. Pali *byāmappabha.*

"When Māra had been routed and his power utterly broken, the Bodhisattva, in the first watch of the night, purified his sight. In the middle watch the vanquisher of Māra brought to mind his life in previous existences.

"When the sun rose, the Saviour of the world, he who had destroyed the passion for existence, being perfect master of the conditions of Buddha-hood, attained the noble enlightenment to which former Buddhas had awakened."

In the last watch of the night,[1] in the flush of dawn, towards daybreak, he awakened to all that the Man, the True Man, the Great Man, the Bull-man, the Real Man, the Heroic Man, the Elephant-man, the Lion-man, the Leader of men, the Red-lotus Man, the White-lotus Man, the Blue-lotus man, the Sterling Man, the Terrible Man, the peerless Driver of tameable men, the Valiant Man, the Courageous Man, the Solitary Man, (416) the Diligent Man, the Ardent Man, the Secluded Man, the Resolute Man, the Man who abides in the right way, mindful, firm, intelligent, wise, good and zealous, has at all times and everywhere to know, understand, and fully understand. To all this, to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, he awakened through insight gained in a momentary flash of thought.

Devas who stood near with garlands in their hands asked, "How then? Is the Exalted One's heart emancipated?" And the Exalted One, knowing in his heart the thought of these devas, on that occasion made this doubt-dispelling solemn utterance to them. "Having cut off craving," said he, "I have rid myself of defilement. The dried-up *āśravas* do not flow.[2] The road of craving has been cut off, and is no longer there.[3] This then is the end of ill."

Then waves of blossoms of divers colours, bright and fragrant, rained down, released from the hands of devas, to salute the king of devas.

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[1] For this passage cf. Vol. 1, p. 185, and notes.

[2] For the applicability of *śuṣka,* "dry," and *sravati,* "flow," to the *āśravas* see Vol. 1, p. 49, *n.* 2.

[3] *Chinnaṃ vartmaṃ na vartati.* Cf. *S.* 4. 52 *chinnavaṭuma,* where the *Com.* explains *vaṭuma* as being for *taṇhā-vaṭuma.* Hence the translation.

To him whose energy is beyond compare, like iron,[1] *whose great splendour of birth is like a flame, make obeisance; to him, the honoured of devas and men, the invincible.*

When these things become manifest to a zealous and contemplative brāhman, all his doubts disappear,[2] *since he understands things and their causes.*

This is (the formula of) the arising of things from a cause given in direct order.[3]

(**417**) *When these things become manifest to a zealous and contemplative brāhman, then all his doubts disappear, for he understands the decay of causes.*

This is (the formula of) the arising of things from a cause given in the reverse order.[4]

Māra fashioned vicious-minded creatures to break up the throne of the Exalted One. But when the sun rose they all melted away.

And on that occasion the Exalted One made this solemn utterance:—

When these things become manifest to a zealous and contemplative brāhman, the host of Māra is shattered, as the sky is irradiated by the sun.[5]

And when the Exalted One first attained enlightenment he made this solemn utterance:—

Blessed is the fruition of merits; the desire (of the meritorious) is fulfilled. Quickly he attains perfect calm and complete release.

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[1] *Girisāra.*

[2] Senart prints *vyapanenti*, which he interprets as being from *vi-apa-eti* apparently regarding the first *n* as excrescent. But it is better to emend this verb, into *vyapayanti*, which would correspond to the Pali *vapayanti* (*vi-apa-yā*) of the same stanza as found at *V*. 1. 2.

[3] *Anulomo pratītyasamutpāda:* Cf. *V*. 1. 1. This is obviously an interpolated remark by a scholiast who remembered that in *V*. the stanza just quoted followed the statement of the *paṭiccasamuppāda*, but who did not realise that his context was different.

[4] *Pratiloma: pratītyasamutpāda:* See preceding note.

[5] This stanza as it occurs in *V*. 1. 2 is slightly different—*vidhūpayaṃ tiṭṭhati . . . Mārasenam*—" he stands dispelling the host of Māra."

Māra's devas who stand in front ready for the assault cannot thwart the good man.

The bodies of men of little merit have no strength. He is strong who has attained concentration[1] *and is possessed of merit.*

If even one who is in the deva-world, the Vaśavartin[2] *devas, or a human being,* (418) *aims at what should not be done,*[3] *then nothing succeeds for him.*

But if on the other hand he seeks Nirvana, the immovable, griefless state, with little difficulty he attains the way that ends ill.

Then the Exalted One said, "Verily, it is he who has subdued the world that can enter upon concentration.[4] This world is torment, and he who takes pleasure in contact with it[5] experiences passion in his self. For men become like unto that by which they are intoxicated.[6] This world clings to becoming,[7] is tainted by becoming and finds its delight in becoming. Where there is becoming, there is ill. It is then, monks, for the sake of checking becoming that the Tathāgata enters upon the good life. For all those who say that there is a way out

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[1] The text here is not above suspicion. As printed it reads *balavāṃ bhoti samādhī sambhāravatāṃ sapuṇyavatāṃ*, which could be rendered "what is strong is the concentration of those who concentrate (? *sambhāravatām*) and of those who have merit." If the text is correct we would seem to have a unique example of an adjective meaning "he who concentrates," viz. *sambhāravant*. But such a word does not seem to be known. Senart lists it in his index, but has no note on it. Besides the context is concerned with the strength of persons not of abstract qualities. In these circumstances, it is tentatively proposed to read *balavāṃ bhoti samādhīṃ samāpadyamāno sapuṇyavān*. Or, perhaps, some form of *(sam)bhāvayati* could be substituted for *samāpadyamāno*.

[2] *Vasavartino* = *Vaśavartino*.

[3] *I.e.* in "body, speech, and thought."

[4] Reading *lokavijito . . . samādhīṃ samāpadyate* for *lokavijitaṃ . . . samādhi s.*

[5] The text here can not be right. It reads *sparśoparato rāgaṃ vedeti ātmano*, which would mean "he who has ceased to be in touch with it (*sc.* the world) experiences passion of self." If this reading is retained, the sense would obviously require the insertion of *na*, "not," with *vedeti*. But it would seem simpler and more in keeping with the context to emend *sparśa-uparata* into *sparśa-abhirata* (or *avarata*), "he who delights in touch."

[6] Literally, "By what men are intoxicated from that there is no difference," *yena yena hi madyanti tato na bhavati anyathā*. Senart's interpretation is different: "ce n'est pas de ce dont ils s'enivrent (c'est-à-dire des objets des sens qui éveillent en eux le désir, *rāga*) que peut venir pour les hommes le changement (c'est-à-dire la déliverance)." But, he adds, "la construction est bien pénible."

[7] *Bhava.*

in the world[1] from becoming will find no way out from it. So I declare. Again, monks, all those who say that there is release in the world from becoming are not free from it. So I declare. The arising of ill is consequent on there being a substrate of existence.[2] With the entire destruction of this substrate, monks, there is no arising of ill. Behold this wide world, given to ignorance, becoming,[3] not free from the arising of becoming. All the becomings that arise in the whole extent of it are impermanent, liable to ill and to change. This is the truth as seen by perfect wisdom. When the craving for becoming is destroyed, there is no longer any delight in it, and the utter cessation of craving is Nirvana. There is no further becoming for him who has passed to Nirvana. Māra is overcome; the battle is won; the foe defeated, and all becoming is transcended.[4]

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened, had fully realised the end for which he had striven.[5] Wicked Māra, with all his might and his host, had been routed, by the mere sound of his coughing, at the foot of the *bodhi* tree. When he had thus awakened (**419**) to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, had set rolling the noble wheel of dharma, and had gathered together a great following, he stayed at Rājagṛiha, teaching devas and men, respected, esteemed, revered, honoured and venerated. He had won the highest gain and honour. He was in possession of the monk's requisites of robe, bowl, bed, seat, and medicines

[1] *Bhavana.* Miss I. B. Horner calls the translator's attention to a striking parallel to this passage in *Ud.* 33. The two passages are so similar that they must be directly from the same source. The *Mhvu.* text, also, generally supports the emendations which Woodward, on the basis of *Netti.* and the *Comy.*, makes in the *Ud.* text. (See *Verses of Uplift*, 40). But his emendation of *vibhavataṇhā' bhinandati* into *vibhavam nābhinandati*, which gives the obscure rendering " he joys not in its slaying," should be still further emended into *bhavam na abhinandati*, " he joys not in becoming," as in the *Mhvu.*

[2] *Upadhi.* See Vol. 1, *passim*.

[3] *Bhūta.*

[4] The translation is conjectural only. Senart adopts the " simple " reading *apatyakta*, which, he says, has taken the place of a *lectio difficilior*, *upetyagā*. He admits that *apatyakta* cannot be correct (the compound *apa-tyaj* is not found), but he cannot suggest a better reading. Possibly, *upetyagā* hides some form of *upa-ati-gā*, " to escape ", *i.e.* (cf. Pali *upaccagā*), which might have been mistaken for a compound of *tyaj*.

[5] For this passage, with the exception of the allusion to Māra, cf. Vol. 1, p. 29.

for use in sickness. There, spotless like a lotus in water, he exhorted those already possessing merit to acquire further merit, consolidated in fruition those already partaking of it, and confirmed memories of past lives in those already partaking of them. He gave a bounteous share of ambrosia to devas and men, and enabled hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of beings to attain immortality. He raised them up from the great abyss, from their evil plight, from the wilderness of the round of rebirth, without beginning or end, in hells and so forth, and established them in repose, bliss, tranquillity, steadfastness, fearlessness, in Nirvana. He converted[1] people from all lands, the people of Anga and Magadha, of Vajjī and Malla, of Kāśi and Kośala, of Kuru and Pañcāla, of Ceti, Vatsā and Matsyā, of Śūrasena, of Aśvaka and of Avanti. He was one who manifestly excelled[2] in knowledge. A Self-becoming One, he abode in deva states,[3] in brāhman states, in immovable states, in Āryan states, in durable states. A Buddha, he abode in a Buddha's states; a Conqueror, he abode in a Conqueror's states; an expert, he abode in an expert's states, and an Omniscient One, he abode in the states of an Omniscient One. He had gained control over his thoughts, and, in short, the Buddha abode in whatever states appropriate to an Exalted One that he desired.

THE KUŚA-JĀTAKA[4]

When the monks had heard this exposition of how wicked Māra with his might and his host had been routed by the Exalted One at the foot of the *bodhi* tree by the mere sound of his cough, they said to him, " Behold, Lord, how wondrous a feat of the Lion-man, of him who has curbed pride and anger. it was, that by a mere cough of the Exalted One Māra and the flower of his army should have been defeated. By one single

[1] *Āvarjayati*, cf. Pali *āvajjeti*.
[2] *Driṣṭaparākrama*.
[3] *Vihāra*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 30. A comparable passage at *A*. 3. 28–9, has *āyatana* for *vihāra*.
[4] This is Pali *Jātaka* No. 531 (*J*. 5. 278 ff.). The *Mhvu*. version differs considerably from the Pali. It is far more circumstantial and detailed. The metrical version which follows at the beginning of Vol. 3 shows greater agreement with the Pali.

man, who was without an ally, but who had a heart full of love and was thoughtful, many *nayutas* of Yakṣas, the flower of the army, were vanquished at the mere sound of his cough. Together with the lions, tigers, hyenas, panthers and elephants[1] and the flower of his army (420) wicked Māra, who brings wickedness in his train and is bent on working iniquity, was vanquished by the lone moon-faced One. How was it that he with the flower of his army was vanquished by the mere sound of a cough ?"

The Exalted One replied, "What is there marvellous, monks, in that Māra, his might and his host, should be routed at the foot of the *bodhi* tree, with the mere sound of a cough, by the Tathāgata who had won supreme enlightenment ? There was even another occasion when the Wicked One with the flower of his army was routed by me with the mere sound of my cough when I was a young prince." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord ?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, there was a king named Subandhu,[2] who was righteous, mighty, powerful and rich, ruling over a kingdom containing sixty thousand cities, a kingdom which was thriving and rich and in which force, lawsuits and thievery had been abolished. It was peaceful, well-supplied with food, free from calamities and disturbances, and thickly populated. Now King Subandhu had sixty thousand elephants with tusks of ivory, housings of gold, adornment of golden ornaments, hoofs of coral, and men riding on them.[3] He had sixty thousand horses from Sindh, fleet of foot and decked out with all sorts of trappings ; sixty thousand chariots covered with skins of lions, tigers and leopards, merrily rattling as they rolled on, with banners and pennons flying ;[4] sixty thousand cows all in heat ; sixty thousand women with pendant jewels on

[1] The text has two names for them, *vāraṇa* and *kuñjara*.
[2] Otherwise unknown.
[3] The added compound *iṣutomarapāṇino*, "with arrows and axes in their hands," is, as Senart remarks, an obvious gloss.
[4] The text adds *sakhuraprāvālāni*, "with hoofs like coral," which is obviously due to an error of the scribe in inadvertently re-writing a word which had occurred a few lines earlier.

their ear-rings, and arrayed in all kinds of finery; sixty thousand couches of gold, silver and ivory; sixty thousand vessels of gold and sixty thousand of silver, and sixty thousand treasuries. Twenty thousand brāhmans always sat at his table. He had abundant wealth in his treasury and granary, abundant female and male slaves, servants, ministers **(421)** and army officers, and an abundant supply of engines of war and bowstrings.

Now in the bed-chamber of King Subandhu there appeared a large clump of sugar-canes. In the middle of this clump of sugar-canes there appeared one cane more splendid than all the rest, excelling the others in strength, colour, brilliance and foliage. When King Subandhu saw this he wondered, and embarked upon a sea of thought. "What is this a portent of?" pondered he. "Is it a good omen or a bad one?" He summoned the brāhmans, the household priests and the royal advisers, and told them about it. "Sirs," said he, "in my bed-chamber there has appeared a large clump of sugar-canes. In the middle of the clump there is one cane more splendid than all the rest, excelling the others in colour, brilliance and foliage. Examine it, sirs, and ascertain what it is a portent of? Is it a good[1] omen or a bad one? Now do what you have to do."

Then the brāhmans, household priests and royal advisers examined the clump of sugar-canes, and saw that it was marvellous, lovely, beautiful and pleasant to look on. When they had seen it they greeted King Subandhu with cries of "Victory to the king!" and said to him, "Good luck and increase to your majesty. It is a good omen that has appeared in your palace. From that clump of sugar-canes a young prince will issue who will be virtuous, powerful, mighty, unassailable, irresistible, invincible, charming and beautiful in the eyes of devas and men. Let this be acceptable to your majesty."

The brāhmans were regaled and entertained by King Subandhu with an exquisite feast of solid and soft food, given a large quantity[2] of gold and dismissed.

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[1] *Lañcaka*, corresponding to *kalyāṇa* above. For *lañcaka*, see Vol. 1, p. 90, *n.* 2.

[2] *Utsanga*, interpreted by Senart as a "large number," after *BR.*, which cites *Lal. Vist.* 168, 16. But *utsangāṃ kritvā* seems a strange expression for "giving a large number," and, perhaps, we should render "made their laps (full of) gold" (*hiraṇyasuvarṇasya*) *i.e.* "filled their laps with gold."

Now that clump of sugar-canes grew day and night, and after a time became a tall clump. And the one cane in the middle grew to be the size of a bamboo,[1] smooth, lovely, of good girth, excelling all the other canes.

King Subandhu had (422) a chief queen, named Surucirā,[2] who was charming, lovely, noble of mien, and possessing perfect beauty of complexion.[3] King Subandhu lay down with the chief queen Surucirā on the royal bed, which was begirt with rows of festoons of woven silk, fragrant with perfumes, strewn with garlands and [lit][4] by candlesticks of gold and silver, while hunchbacks, dwarfs, pigmies, eunuchs and chamberlains were in attendance.

Then in the last watch of the night, at sunrise, there issued from the sugar-cane, from the bottom of the stalk,[5] a young boy, who was charming, lovely, noble of mien, and possessing perfect beauty of complexion. The young boy was received by Queen Surucirā.

King Subandhu was amazed when he saw this young boy issuing from the sugar-cane. "How marvellous!" said he. "What will this being become who has issued from a sugar-cane?" And King Subandhu celebrated joyful birthday festivities for the boy which lasted a whole week. For seven days he distributed among recluses, brāhmans, the poor and the vagrants and the rest of a large crowd, drink, solid and soft food, perfumes, garlands, ointments, clothes, and sesamum oil, ghee, and other kinds of drink ran in streams. A great crowd of kinsfolk assembled, and many hundred kings and many thousand brāhmans. There was great rejoicing in the home of Subandhu. Hundreds of musical instruments were played and there were hundreds of choruses. The whole city was *en fête*[6] for a whole week.

When King Subandhu had worthily[7] observed the birthday celebrations for seven days, he spoke to the brāhmans, household priests, and royal advisers, and said to them, "Sirs, give a fitting name to the boy." And they reflected, "The boy

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[1] *Velu*, Pali *veḷu*, Sk. *veṇu*.
[2] Otherwise unknown.
[3] *Śubhavarṇapuṣkalatā*, cf. Pali *pokkharatā*.
[4] Lacuna in the text.
[5] *Mūladaṇḍa* = *daṇḍamūla*.
[6] *Satkṛita*, "honoured."
[7] *Anupātram*, "comme il convenait pour le personnage" (Senart).

was born of a sugar-cane, let his name then be Ikṣvāku."[1] They reported to the king and said to him, "Your majesty, (423) this boy was born of a sugar-cane, let his name then be Ikṣvāku." King Subandhu was delighted on hearing the boy's name from the brāhmans, and the name was fixed on him. Others also were delighted on hearing the boy's name.

King Subandhu entertained those brāhmans with a plentiful supply of solid and soft food, gave them a large quantity of gold and dismissed them.

King Subandhu appointed four competent nurses to attend the boy. One of them anointed[2] him and lulled him to sleep,[3] another suckled him, another washed away the faeces and urine from him, and the fourth carried him in her arms. Thus perfectly waited on and cared for by the four nurses Prince Ikṣvāku grew apace, like a lotus[4] on the banks of a pool. As has been said by the Exalted One,

> *The righteous man grows like the banyan tree on a fertile soil; but the unrighteous becomes stunted[5] like a tree planted in the roadway.*

And so the lad grew up. When he was seven or eight years old he was taught reading, writing, calculation,[6] numeration,[7] reckoning with the fingers,[8] mnemonics,[9] riding the elephant

[1] *I.e.* from *ikṣu*, "sugar-cane." Pali Okkāka. Not, of course, identical with the Ikṣvāku who was the progenitor of the Śākyans. See Vol. 1, p. 77, 293 *ff.* In the Pali *Kusa-jātaka* this preliminary folk-tale of the birth of Ikṣvāku (Okkāka) is wanting.

[2] *Udvarteti*, Pali *ubbaṭṭeti*. Cf. Sk. *udvartana*.

[3] *Supeti*, cs. of *supati* from *svap*.

[4] The text names lotuses of four different colours.

[5] *Viruhyati*, "grows badly," but Senart considers that the true reading is *vilujyati*, "is cut off," on the analogy of *pralujyati* (see p. 323, *n.* 4). One MS. reads *viluhyati*.

[6] *Sankhyā*.

[7] *Gaṇanā*.

[8] *Mudrā*. For discussions as to the meaning of this word here, as well as of the two in the preceding two notes, see T. W. Rhys Davids at *Dial.* 1. 21 and I. B. Horner, *Book of the Discipline*, 2. 176. It may be worth recalling here, as possibly giving a clue to the meaning, that in *Mhvu.* 1. 135 *mudrā* is the name of a kind of writing (*lipi*). In the translation (p. 107) it was left untranslated, with a reference to Senart's suggestion that the meaning was "l'écriture des sceaux," *i.e.* a special kind of writing for use on seals, as the Chinese, for example, also had. *Miln.* 79, also, seems to connect *mudrā* (*muddā*) with writing, when it says that memory arises from it, for by his training in *lipi* a man knows what syllable follows another. Woodward *Verses of Uplift*, p. 38, renders *muddā* by "craft of signs manual" and adds in a note that "undoubtedly the ancient Indian practice of bargaining by signs is meant."

[9] *Dhāraṇā*, "learning by heart," see *Miln.* 79. Cf. *dhāraṇakā*, "repeaters of the scriptures)" (*ibid.*).

and the horse, using bows and bamboos, running, jumping, racing, swimming, archery, fighting, cutting, stabbing, leading an army, and king-craft. At all times he was resolutely devoted to virtue,[1] dutiful to his mother, respectful to recluses and brāhmans, politely rising up from his seat to greet them. He had graciousness and gentleness. He was not coarse and surly, but modest and sociable;[2] not forward in talking,[3] but pleasant-spoken. He was beloved by the king, (**424**) the queen, the women of the palace, the ministers, all the army,[4] the household priests, the merchants, town and country people, and even rival kings. He was dear and charming. He enjoyed good health, and had a regular and perfect digestion, a digestive warmth neither too hot nor too cold. He was destined to live to a great age, the term of his life being eighty-four thousand years. As has been said by the Exalted One,

> *All*[5] *beings are doomed to die, for life has death as its end. They will pass on in accordance with their karma, reaping the reward of virtue or of sin.*
>
> *Those whose deeds are evil will go to hell; the virtuous will go to heaven. Others who have cultivated the Way will go on to final release, rid of all the* āśravas.

Now when King Subandhu, after ruling his kingdom righteously for a long time, was eighty-four years of age, he, being subject to the conditions of time, died. Prince Ikṣvāku succeeded to the throne, and as king of Benares and the sixty thousand cities of his father he quelled violence and put down rivals and foes. He was free from troubles, had devoted subjects, and was powerful and mighty, having a great army and a large harem of many thousands of women. But all of these last were without offspring; not one had a son or daughter.

Then King Ikṣvāku, after reigning some time, embarked on a sea of reflection. "I have a wide realm," reflected he, "and an extensive harem, yet I have no son. I fear that I will go on being childless until I die. Then this country will be invaded

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[1] *Niścitaguṇagrihīta.* Cf. *guṇagṛhya,* "attached to merit" (*MW.*).
[2] *Sukhasaṃvāsa,* "easy to live with."
[3] *Pūrvālāpin,* see p. 62, *n.* 3.
[4] *Bhaṭabalāgra,* "hired troops."
[5] This *gāthā,* without the last line, is found at *S.* I. 97.

by enemies." King Ikṣvāku consulted with his household priest. "How may I have a son?" he asked him. The household priest replied, "Your majesty, you must let out[1] the women of your harem[2] three times[3] a fortnight, on the eighth, the fourteenth and fifteenth days. Then you will have a son (**425**) and the family of Ikṣvāku will become extensive."

When King Ikṣvāku had heard these words of the household priest, he kept Alindā his chief queen in the palace, but let out[4] all the other thousands of women three times a week. "Go," said he to them, "let each of you take your pleasure with whatever man she likes." So, from the king's court there gladly streamed out, like coy does, many thousands of women, decked out in their finery. They went up to various doors. Some chattered as they sought to allure,[5] others laughed, and others went about chasing men. All men were reeling and all were bewildered. And in King Ikṣvāku's city the men were agitated and bewildered by these mistresses of the king.

Then a certain man of the family of Subandhu, being related to it by birth, who, in his life as a human being, had been of good behaviour in deed, speech and thought and had lived following the path of the ten virtues, passed away from the world of men and was reborn among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, as a king's son named Śakra.[6] Reflecting, he asked himself, "I wonder among what group[7] King Subandhu is sojourning? Is he living or is he dead?" Then he realised that King Subandhu was dead, and that his son named Ikṣvāku was reigning in his stead. He saw that his household priest had counselled an unjust, unseemly and improper course to King Ikṣvāku, advising him to let out his harem three times a fortnight in order that he might have descendants.

Then Śakra, the lord of devas, disguised himself as a brāhman who was decrepit, aged, senile, advanced in years, and past his prime. His body was covered with wrinkles, his head

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[1] *Osiritavya*, see Senart's note, Vol. 1, p. 380.

[2] *Strīkāgāra*, a misprint for *strīyāgāra*, which is the form on pp. 425, 426.

[3] *Trikṣutto*, the *v.ll.* are *triṣkṛitya* and *trikṣatto*.

[4] *Osiṣṭa*, past. part. of *osarati*, *osirati*, *osirati*. See *n.* 1.

[5] *Lobhaye*, causal potential = aorist, and sg. for pl. The metrical version (Vol. 3, p. 1 text) has *lobhenti*.

[6] There are plenty of allusions in our text to the belief that good men could be reborn in the person of a god of the old pantheon.

[7] *Kāya*, sc. "of devas."

hoary, and his limbs black with freckles. He came to King Ikṣvāku's door and said, "I want to see Ikṣvāku." The door-keeper went into the palace and reported this to the king. (426) "Your majesty," said he, "there is a brāhman at the door who wants to see the king." King Ikṣvāku replied, "Give a welcome to the brāhman and let him come in." And the door-keeper led the brāhman into the palace.

When the king saw the old brāhman he stood up and said, "I bid you welcome, brāhman. Pray sit down, here is a seat for you." The brāhman hailed the king and went in. The king then asked him, "From what land do you come, O brāhman? What do you seek? What is your pleasure?[1] What can I give you?"

The brāhman replied, "Your majesty, I am come from a far land, having heard of your noble fame and repute. And I have heard, too, that King Ikṣvāku three times every fortnight lets out the women of his harem in the hope of getting descendants. And so, O king, I have come from that far land in order to get a woman. Therefore provide me with a woman."

When the king heard the brāhman's words he was pleased and glad, and he called to the chamberlain. "Ho, there, chamberlain," said he, "make haste to show my harem to this brāhman. Give him whatever woman pleases him." The chamberlain led the brāhman into the harem, into the midst of several thousands of women, and said, "Brāhman, here is the harem of King Ikṣvāku. Whatever woman is desirable to you, take her and go."

Now of all those many thousands of women, she who was King Ikṣvāku's chief wife, the queen named Alindā, and who had never gone out of the harem, was the one chosen by the brāhman. "Let her be mine," said he. But the queen wept[2] and said "This brāhman is old enough to be my grandfather[3] or great-grandfather,[4] or even a still more remote ancestor. King Ikṣvāku is loyal to his vow and he will not let me go to serve and wait on this brāhman."

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[1] *Ruccati*, Pali for * *rucyati*, middle of *ruc*, but here apparently retaining the force of its original causative formation. *Kinte ruccati* = what makes you take delight? At least, it is impersonal, while the Pali is used with a personal subject. See *P.E.D.*, *s.v.* A variant form is *rucyati*.

[2] *Prarunḍa*, see p. 207, *n.* 1.

[3] *Ayyaka*, Pali and BSk.

[4] *Payyaka*, Pali and BSk.

Alindā's hunchbacked garland-maker was there twining[1] garlands. The hunchbacked woman (427) railed at the brāhman and said, "Brāhman, you are decrepit, aged and senile, yet you desire a tender woman. No tender woman would touch you with either hand or foot. Go to. What have you to do with Queen Alindā? King Ikṣvāku will not let her go."

The brāhman answered the hunchbacked woman and said, "You are an idle dame, hunchback, go on twining your garlands. I am dear to Queen Alindā, as neither you nor others are."

Queen Alindā had another slave whose duty it was to grind[2] face-powder.[3] And she, too, railed at the brāhman and said to him, "Brāhman, you are decrepit, aged and senile. You will make the bed-clothes smell with a foul smell. The queen has no desire to see you, not to speak of touching[4] you. Go away. What is Queen Alindā to you? Besides, King Ikṣvāku will not let her go." But the brāhman replied to the slave, "You are an idle dame. Get on with grinding face-powder. I am dear to Queen Alindā, as neither you nor others are."

Then Queen Alindā said, "This brāhman shall by no means carry me off." She sobbed loudly and wept. And while the queen wept her attendants, too, wept, so that there was a loud noise of wailing in the harem. King Ikṣvāku, who was on the upper terrace, heard the loud and great wailing in the harem, and he questioned the eunuchs and chamberlains, saying, "Ho, there, what is this noise of wailing women that I hear?" The eunuchs and chamberlains answered and said, "Sire, Queen Alindā has been chosen by that brāhman, and he says, 'King Ikṣvāku has given me the choice to take whatever woman pleases me. So let this one be mine.' And so Queen Alindā weeps, and as she weeps, her attendants, too, set up their wailing."

When he had heard them say this he entered his harem and railed at the brāhman. "You are a decrepit and aged old man," said he. "If you wish to eat and drink permanently

[1] *Gūhayati*. Senart explains this (and *guhāhi*, next page) as being equivalent in sense to *granthayati* (and *granthāhi*), from *granth*, "to tie." He cites in support *avaguh* from Vol. 1, p. 304, and the sense given to *udguh* in *BR*.

[2] *Piṣikā* from *piṣ*.

[3] *Varṇaka*.

[4] *Prasṭum* = *sprasṭum*.

in the palace, I shall let you do so. But what can you have to do with Queen Alindā ? Choose another woman."

The brāhman replied, " Your majesty, (428) it is true that I am decrepit and aged and afflicted with a cough.[1] Every now and then I faint. I have not the strength to get up myself, and thus I wet my bed. So give her to me, and she will serve me and wait on me. May it not be that my lord Ikṣvāku, having given me the choice of a woman, should afterwards go back on his word. For then I should go and tell people that my lord Ikṣvāku breaks his promises."[2]

The king replied, " O brāhman, I do not break my promises. Nor do I go back on my word when I have offered a gift. But you are decrepit and aged, while the queen here is tender and delicate, and so she can not desire you. My harem is crowded with many thousands of women. Take the woman that pleases you. Have your pleasure with her, and she shall wait on you." But the brāhman answered and said, " Enough, your majesty. Let her be mine, who proudly stands there, faultless of limb and bashful of look.[3] Let her be mine who proudly stands there, faultless of limb, with eyes like a doe's. Let her be mine who proudly stands there, faultless of limb, bathing her face with tears. Talk no more to me, your majesty, of your harem. Let this queen be mine. She will set me on my feet, wait on me and serve me. Let not my lord Ikṣvāku go back on his word after giving me the choice of a woman, *and so on as above as far as* I will go and tell people, etc."

The king answered *as before as far as* " You are decrepit and aged, etc." Then " Here is this common hunchback, eager for love, though she be but a slave. Let her be yours. Take her where you will, and she will wait on you." But the hunchback said, " Your majesty, this brāhman is malodorous and wrinkled and hoary-headed. He has the nasty smell of the jujube flower, and he stinks like a goat. I'll kill myself by taking poison, if your majesty gives me to him. Or I'll secretly do away with this tottering dotard."

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[1] *Kāsanaka*, from *kāsa*, " cough."

[2] Literally, " grants requests falsely (or deceitfully)," *mithyāyācanāṃ karoti*.

[3] *Mandaṃ prekṣati*, cf. Pali *mandākṣa*, which Halāyudha gives as = " bashful " (see *P.E.D.*).

Then the brāhman said :—

(429) " *I'll be at enmity with all the hunchbacks that cumber the earth, just because this common hunchback wants to kill me.*

" Talk no more, your majesty, of this hunchback. Let the queen be mine. She will serve me and wait on me. My lord, do not go back on your word after you have given me the choice of a woman, or I shall go and tell people that you break your promises."

The king replied, " O brāhman, I do not break my promises, nor do I go back on my word when I have offered a gift. Yet you are a decrepit old man, while the queen is tender and delicate, and so cannot desire you. Were you young, then the queen would yearn for you. However, I am not a man who breaks his promises, so go, take Queen Alindā, and lead her wherever you wish."

When the brāhman heard King Ikṣvāku he was delighted, glad and pleased. He embraced Queen Alindā, brought her to the entrance and fell over her. Loud laughter arose among the thousands of women. " The queen has gotten her a fine handsome man," said they. But the brāhman seized the sobbing and tearfully protesting queen by the hand, drew and dragged her along and embraced[1] her now and again. Panting and gasping, passing water all over the place, he firmly held the weeping and genuinely sick[2] queen. In utter despondence she was dragged out of Rājagṛiha,[3] banished and made disconsolate.

In a poor hamlet outside the city-walls the brāhman had

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[1] The turn of this sentence in the original is passive, for *ākaḍḍhati*, " draw " (from *kṛiṣ*, see p. 229, *n.* 1) the predicate of *Alindā*, must be taken in a passive sense. *Kaṭṭīkriyati*, " drag," is explicitly passive, though the form is doubtful, there being no other example, except *kaṭṭīyamānī* immediately below, of a foım *kaṭṭ* corresponding to *kaḍḍh*. *Laggati*, " embrace," is the usual Pali form of *lagnati*, " to stick to," but here apparently the double " g " was wrongly taken to mark a passive form.

[2] Reading *na-ālaya glāyantīm* for *ālāpena galantī* of Senart's text, which he admits is a " pis aller," necessitating as it does not only a neuter sense for *vahati* in *aśrūhi vahantehi* (? read *sravantehi*) but also the sense of " to drip " for *galati*. For *ālaya glāyanti* cf. Pali *gilāna ālaya*—" pretence of illness." Two MSS. have *nālāya*. Senart's rendering of his text is, " tcut inondée dans ses lamentations de larmes qui se précipitent."

[3] The mention of Rājagṛiha here is strange, for Ikṣvāku was king in Benares.

constructed a crazy and rickety shed, and in it he had arranged grass and leaves on a rickety couch and placed a broken pitcher of water. Into this shed Queen Alindā was made to enter, her garments spoilt and ruined, her jewels broken and torn off, as were all other marks of elegance. (430) And she who had never touched the ground with her feet, had her shoes wrenched off, and her bare feet were broken and torn.

Then the brāhman sat down in the rickety shed and said, "Lady, dress yourself smartly.[1] Wash my feet, and then your own. Then delight me. When I am delighted, it will mean a boon for you,[2] lady. Delight me perfectly with joys, lady. Delight me with talk, lady. Delight me with dallying, lady." And so for the queen the whole night was spent in listening to his crying, "Now delight me, delight me; raise me up, put me in bed, put me in bed."

But when the night was past and the sun rose, Śakra stood before her in his own form, his celestial body adorned with bracelets and ear-rings, and shining with sublime beauty. He became the king of devas, wearing fine and bright ear-rings, and as he emitted his radiance the whole shed was lit up with his splendour. Queen Alindā, seeing Śakra, the lord of devas, thus in his own form was intoxicated with passion. "What was I about," said she to herself, "that I did not take my pleasure with him?"

Śakra, the lord of devas, offered Queen Alindā the choice of a boon.

I am Śakra, the lord of devas, the sovereign of Trāyastriṃśa. Choose a boon of me, lady, whatever you wish for in your heart.

Then Queen Alindā, raising her joined hands in adoration of Śakra, lord of the devas, said to him, "Śakra offers me the choice of a boon. My reply is that I choose the boon of a son." Indra gave her a medicinal pill, saying, "Stir this in water and swallow it. Then you will have a son, who will be like a lion, strong, and able to crush his foes. In prowess

[1] *Sunivasta* for *sunivastra* (Pali *sunivattha*) which latter form is found in one MS. and in the metrical version in vol. 3, p. 6 (text).

[2] Literally, "I delighted (am) a boon to you," *varante ramito aham*, in which phrase Vol. 3, p. 6, has the more correct form *rāmito*.

there will be no one in the world equal to him. But he will be ill-favoured of complexion and form, because you did not provide me with the thrill of love." And Indra, (**431**) having granted this boon to Queen Alindā, caused the rickety old shed to disappear and rejoined the company of the devas in Trāyastriṃśa.

Queen Alindā tied up the medicinal pill in a corner of her garment and entered the palace, her countenance like the lotus and her senses unruffled.[1] "So," said she, "of all the numerous harem it is I who will have a son."

King Ikṣvāku, from a distance, saw Queen Alindā come in by the entrance hall, with her countenance like the lotus and her senses unruffled. The king questioned the queen, saying, "Your countenance is like the lotus and your senses unruffled. Did you have pleasure as you lay abed at night? Did you experience the joys of dallying? Or did you find a noble and good man?" The queen replied, "Sire, how could I have pleasure as I lay abed, or experience the joys of dallying? That man was Indra, who had come here in the disguise of a brāhman. The whole night was spent with him crying 'Raise me up, put me back in bed.' And when the night was passing into day, at sunrise, he threw off his brāhman's disguise and stood up in his own form as Indra, irradiating all quarters with his radiance. He offered me a boon, saying, 'Choose a boon, lady.

" 'I am Śakra, lord of the devas, sovereign of Trāyastriṃśa. Choose a boon of me, lady, whatever you wish for in your heart.'

"Thereupon, sire, I asked for the boon of a son, saying to him, 'Grant me the boon of a son.' And Śakra gave me a medicinal pill, bidding me stir it in water and swallow it. Then I should have a son who would sit on the throne.[2] In

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[1] Pure, *pariśuddha*.

[2] *Siṃhāsanapīṭha*. Senart doubts the correctness of this, for there is no point in referring to this obvious fact. By deleting the *na*, as in two MSS., we would have *sapiṭhā* corresponding to *sadṛiśa* (like a lion) in the parallel passage above, but there is nowhere any instance of *sapīṭha* in this sense. If a change is necessary it would be better to read *siṃhāsapīṭha* (*siṃha-āsa-pīṭha*) "lion's seat" = "throne," though the last two elements are rather tautological, as they are, too, in the text reading. This emendation would also support that of *siṃhāsupīḍa* (p. 458 text) into *siṃhāsapīṭha*.

prowess there would not be his equal in the world. But he would be ill-favoured in complexion and in form, because I did not provide Śakra with the joy of rapture."

When the king heard this (432) he was wroth with the queen. "Why did you not provide him with the joy of rapture as you were bidden by me to do ?" In his anger the king snatched away his queen's pill, ground it on a stone, stirred it in water and gave it to his four hundred and ninety-nine[1] young brāhman queens to drink on a blade of *kuśa* grass.[2] But Queen Alindā was not given to drink of the medicinal pill, lest she should beget an ill-favoured son.

The queen questioned her slaves, saying, "What has become of the medicinal pill ?" The slaves replied, "Your majesty, your pill was seized by the king, who ground it on a millstone[3] and gave it to his four hundred and ninety-nine young brāhman queens to drink." The queen asked, "On what millstone was the pill ground ?" A slave replied, "On this millstone here, your majesty." Then Queen Alindā poured a drop of water on the millstone and by means of a blade of *kuśa* grass drank it with the tip of her tongue. The queen too thus conceived, and so the five hundred became pregnant.

The five hundred queens were delivered after nine or ten months. Four hundred and ninety-nine princes were born who were beautiful, handsome, noble of appearance, and endowed with a perfect beauty of complexion. A son was born to Alindā also, but he was ugly, repulsive, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied, and black, the colour of a heap of soot.

The eunuchs and chamberlains reported this to the king. "Your majesty," said they, "four hundred and ninety-nine queens have been delivered of four hundred and ninety-nine

[1] The text here and in the next paragraph speaks of five hundred queens or ladies as being given the drink. The number, of course, was four hundred and ninety-nine, and it would seem that *ekūnā*, "one less," has been inadvertently dropped out. This prefix is found below with the numeral giving the number of the princes born to them, *ekūna-pañcaśatāni*.

[2] *Kuśāgreṇa*, cf. Pali *kusaggena bhuñjati* or *pivati*, "to eat or drink (only as little as) with a blade of grass." (*P.E.D.*) The meaning here too, is, of course, "a tiny portion," but as the word *kuśa* has a significance in the sequel, the full literal translation is given.

[3] *Niṣadā*, BSk., Pali *nisadā*, Sk. *dṛiṣad*. For this interchange of *n* and *d* the *P.E.D.* compares Pali *nijjuha* and Sk. *dātyūha*. Immediately above the king is said to have used an ordinary stone, *śilā*, for the grinding.

princes, who are beautiful and handsome, but to Queen Alindā has been born a son who is ugly and repulsive, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied, and black, the colour of a heap of soot." (**433**) When King Ikṣvāku heard this he was enraged and distressed, and he said, " Seeing that I did not give any of the pill to the queen to drink, so as to prevent her having a son, how comes it that a son is born to her ? " The eunuchs and chamberlains replied, " Your majesty, after you had ground that pill on the millstone, the queen poured a drop of water on the stone and by means of a blade of *kuśa* grass drank it with the tip of her tongue. That is how a son has been born to the queen." The king said, " Let the queen's son never stand before me. I have no wish to see such a son."

But when King Ikṣvāku heard of the beauty of the four hundred and ninety-nine princes he was glad and joyful. Merry birth festivities were celebrated for seven days in honour of the beautiful princes, but none in honour of Alindā's son. He distributed food and drink, solid and soft edibles, clothes, perfumes, garlands and ointments. Sesamum oil, ghee, and various kinds of drink flowed in streams. Four nurses were assigned to each young prince. One anointed him and lulled him to sleep ;[1] another washed away the faeces and urine from him ; another suckled him, and the fourth carried him about in her arms. But no nurse was given to the queen's son ; Queen Alindā's own attendants were assigned him. Thus, then, were those princes brought up and reared.

King Ikṣvāku gave all the five hundred young princes names compounded with the word *kuśa*. One was named Indrakuśa, another Brahmakuśa, another Devakuśa, another Ṛiṣikuśa, another Kusumakuśa, another Drumakuśa, another Ratnakuśa, another Mahākuśa, another Haṃsakuśa, another Kroñcakuśa, another Mayūrakuśa, and so on ; all were given names compounded with *kuśa*. But to Queen Alindā's son, the name Kuśa simply was given.

(**434**) Then King Ikṣvāku gave to all the four hundred and ninety-nine princes children's toys of various kinds, but he did not give a toy to Kuśa, Queen Alindā's son. So Kuśa, when he desired a toy, took those of his brothers, and when he had done

[1] *Supeti*. See p. 376, *n*. 3.

playing and amusing himself with them he gave them back. In the same way King Ikṣvāku gave to those princes carriages of various kinds to play with, right royal elephant-carriages, horse-carriages and chariots. But he gave no carriage to Kuśa. When Kuśa wanted a carriage, whether an elephant-carriage, a horse-carriage, a chariot, a team-carriage, a palanquin, a war-chariot,[1] a *gallī*,[2] a half-*gallī*, a winged car, or an aerial car, he took those of his brothers and rode in them. Then he gave them back, saying, " Why should I keep them ? "

And so the princes grew up. When they reached years of discretion at the age of seven or eight they were taught reading, writing, calculation, numeration, reckoning with the fingers,[3] mnemonics, riding on elephants and horses and in chariots, the use of the bow and the bamboo, running, racing, swimming, archery, fighting, combat, cutting, stabbing, and striking, and leading an army in battle, and in every way established and trained in kingcraft. But no one taught the arts to Prince Kuśa. Yet by his own intelligence, wisdom and energy he became more expert than all his brothers and the rest of the people. Prince Kuśa was expert in archery and excelled everybody in every other art.

Then the thought occurred to King Ikṣvāku : " Let me now test these five hundred princes to see who will become king after me." So King Ikṣvāku caused (435) five hundred sweetmeats to be made. One large sweetmeat was placed in the middle and covered by the other sweetmeats. " I will know," said he " that he who picks out the large sweetmeat will become king after me." When King Ikṣvāku had thus prepared the pile of sweetmeats he summoned the five hundred princes and said to them, " When I give three claps with my hands[4] quickly take the sweetmeats one by one from the pile." Those other princes all came first, and after them came Kuśa. It was he, of all his brothers, who by plunging in his left and right hand, was the one to pick out the large sweetmeat.

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[1] *Syandamānikā*, Pali *sandamānikā*.

[2] The word *gallī* is not found in the dictionaries, and there is no means of knowing what sort of carriage is meant by the word. No carriage of this name is mentioned in the lists of carriages in *Nd.*I. 145 and *Miln.* 276. Words approximating in form to *gallī* are *gaḍi*, " a draught ox " and *gali*, " a draught animal."

[3] *Mudrā*, see p. 376, *n.* 8.

[4] Literally " at three claps of the hand," *trīhi tālehī*.

King Ikṣvāku thought, "This Prince Kuśa will become king after me. But he is ill-favoured, ugly, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied, and black, the colour of a heap of soot. He is unlovely and repulsive to look on. Who will endure him as king? So let me now test these princes again a second time. I shall have them brought before me at meal-time. I shall know that he who will be the first of them to take his food, will become king after me."

Then King Ikṣvāku, at meal-time, summoned the five hundred princes and made them sit down. Food was brought in. The other princes waited to be served with food, but Prince Kuśa took his food on the floor and made a heap of food on the floor with whatever eatables he wanted. He took the condiments to put on them and ate his meal laid out on the floor. King Ikṣvāku reflected, "This Prince Kuśa will become king after me. He will be sovereign of the earth, for that he took his food laid out on the ground."

King Ikṣvāku questioned his household priest a second time, saying to him, "Master, which of these princes will become king after me?" The priest replied, "Your majesty, it is this Prince Kuśa who will become king after my lord. He has the marks of a king."

When King Ikṣvāku (**436**) heard the priest he became distressed. "What means is there," thought he, "whereby this Prince Kuśa shall not become king after me? Let me now secretly bury large treasures in hidden places in various parts of the royal palace. He who, after I am dead, will find out, discover and dig up these treasures, will become king. Thus, perchance, some other prince will become king."

King Ikṣvāku then buried a great treasure in hidden places in different parts of the royal palace without anyone seeing him. Being advanced in years and near to his death he gave instructions to his ministers, saying to them, "My ministers, whosoever of these five hundred princes will, after I am dead, find out, discover and dig up these treasures, him shall ye consecrate to the throne. There is a treasure within, and a treasure without. There is a treasure that is neither within nor without. There are four treasures underneath the four royal halls. There is a treasure in the water, and a treasure

in the ocean. There is a treasure at the joining,[1] and a treasure at the releasing.[2] There is a treasure in a tree-top and on a mountain. There is a treasure where the sun rises and where the light-bringing orb goes to rest. Where the devas live their happy lives, there, too, is a treasure laid. My ministers, what prince soever, without being shown, will find out and dig up these treasures, him shall ye consecrate to the throne. So shall he become king." Then King Ikṣvāku, being subject to the conditions of time, died.

After their father's death, the five hundred princes quarrelled among themselves about the throne, each saying, "I am the king, I am the king." But, owing to their righteous character, they did not harm one another. Then the ministers spoke to them, saying, "Princes, do not quarrel. There are instructions for you from King Ikṣvāku. **(437)** When your father was about to die he gave us a message, and he who will understand his father's message will become king."

The princes replied, "Ministers, tell us what the message given you by our father was." And so the ministers related to the five hundred princes the message of King Ikṣvāku. "There is a treasure within," said they, "and a treasure without. There is a treasure that is neither within nor without. There are four treasures beneath the four royal halls. There is a treasure in the water, and a treasure in the ocean. There is a treasure at the joining and a treasure at the releasing. There is a treasure in a tree-top, and a treasure on a mountain-top. There is a treasure where the sun rises, and a treasure where the light-bringing orb goes to rest. Where the devas live their happy lives, there also is a treasure laid. O princes, this was the message left you by your father. Whosoever of you will find and dig up these deposited treasures will become king."

The four hundred and ninety-nine other princes neither knew nor understood what the treasures mentioned were. But Kuśa, with his great intelligence and reflective power understood the whole matter clearly. And he said, "I shall now explain to you my father's words, and I shall dig up all the treasures

[1] *Yojana.*
[2] *Mocana.* These two words have to be rendered here in their general or root sense, otherwise there will be no riddle. Their special senses will become apparent when the riddle is solved.

which you have mentioned. When my father said that there was a treasure within he meant that a treasure was laid in the palace doorway within the threshold." The ministers had this place dug up and a great treasure was found.

" When my father said that there was a treasure without, he meant that a treasure was laid outside the threshold." The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

" When my father said that there was a treasure which was neither within nor without, he meant that a treasure was laid in the doorway beneath the threshold." The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

(438) " When my father said that there were four treasures beneath the four royal halls, he meant that there were four treasures laid under the four legs of King Ikṣvāku's chamber couch, fitted with four legs of gold, which served him as a bed." The prince had these great treasures also dug up.

" When my father said that there was a treasure in the water, he meant that a treasure was laid in the lotus-pool which is in the royal park Aśokavaṇikā." There also from the pleasure pool the prince had a great treasure drawn up.[1]

" When my father said that there was a treasure in the ocean, he meant that a treasure was hid in the pool of King Ikṣvāku's bathing-place." The prince had this great treasure also dug out of the pool.

" When my father said that there was a treasure at the joining, he meant that a treasure was laid where animals were yoked to the carriage[2] of King Ikṣvāku, whether an elephant-carriage, a horse carriage, or a team carriage." The prince had that great treasure also dug up.

" When my father said that there was a treasure at the releasing, he meant that a treasure was laid in the place where they tend the animals and where they were unyoked[3] from King Ikṣvāku's carriage, whether an elephant carriage, horse carriage or team carriage." The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

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[1] *Ukkaḍḍhāpita*, from *ut-kaḍḍh*, " to draw out." In the other instances the verb is *utkhanāpita*, from *utkhanati*, " to dig out."

[2] Literally, " when the carriage is yoked," *yasmiṃ pradeśe yānaṃ yujyati*. *Yojana*, the word used in the riddle has the special sense of " yoking."

[3] Literally, " where the carriage is set free," *yānaṃ muccati*, hence *mocana* of the riddle.

"When my father said that there was a treasure in a tree-top, he meant that where the tip of the shade of the great tree by King Ikṣvāku's reception-room[1] falls at sunrise, and where its last shadow falls at sunset, there too had a treasure been laid." The prince had these two great treasures also dug up.

"When my father said that there was a treasure on the mountain, he meant that a treasure was laid beneath the slab of stone where King Ikṣvāku's paint and ointment for bathing the head were mixed." The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

"When my father said that there was a treasure where the sun rose, he meant that a treasure was laid where Ikṣvāku my father was born of a sugar-cane." **(439)** The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

"When my father said that there was a treasure where the light-bringing sun goes to rest, he meant that a treasure was laid where King Ikṣvāku died." The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

"When my father said that there was a treasure where the devas live their happy lives, he meant that there was a treasure laid where the five hundred princes had food served[2] them by King Ikṣvāku." The prince had this great treasure also dug up.

Thus all the great treasures were dug up by Prince Kuśa. The ministers, the other princes, the priests, the brāhman royal tutors, the army officers, and all the town and country people marvelled at the treasures dug up by him. "Behold," said they, "the great intelligence and reflective power of Prince Kuśa, for wherever a great treasure was laid in the palace of King Ikṣvāku, all of it was discovered and dug up by Prince Kuśa. He will be king."

But the ministers thought among themselves, "Before Prince Kuśa hears this from others let us set one more test by some other means." And they spoke to the princes, saying, "Princes, whosoever of you will be the first to worship all the gods and then ascend the throne, he will become king."

Then the four hundred and ninety-nine princes mounted

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[1] *Darśanaśālā.*

[2] *Pariviṣāpita,* causative of *pari-viṣ.* The solution of this riddle hangs on the secondary sense of *deva* as a title of honour, *e.g.*, of a prince.

carriages of various kinds and in quick haste rushed to all the temples of the gods to worship them. But Prince Kuśa approached the golden throne of consecration, raised his joined hands to the four quarters in adoration of the gods and in honour of former kings. Then he reverently saluted the throne and ascended it.

Then, indeed, was Kuśa acknowledged by the princes, ministers, army officers (**440**) and town and country people to be the most clever one, and he was consecrated king. He was hailed as king by the sixty thousand cities, the town and country people, the royal ministers and the princes. This, then, was how Prince Kuśa won the throne.

When King Kuśa had ascended the throne he showed his mother, Queen Alindā, every mark of respect, honour, reverence, esteem and homage. And when he had thus ruled his kingdom with justice for a long time, he, on a certain occasion, appealed to Queen Alindā, his mother, saying, " Mother, bring me a wife to be my chief queen, who will be lovely and beautiful above all other women." Queen Alindā replied, " My son, who will give you, who are ill-favoured in beauty, a lovely and beautiful wife ? I shall bring you as wife one who is ill-favoured like you and who will thus not be a contrast[1] to you." King Kuśa said, " Mother, if you bring me an ill-favoured wife, I shall not touch her with a hand or with a foot. Bring me a lovely and beautiful wife. Mother, I have neither seen nor heard of an ill-favoured king, or indeed any king, who could find pleasure in an ill-favoured woman. So, mother, bring me a handsome wife."

Queen Alindā replied and said, " My son, wives and husbands live together happily when they are equal in beauty, for then they are not jealous of each other. A beautiful wife reproaches an ill-favoured husband, and a handsome husband an ill-favoured wife. My son, I shall bring you a wife that is suitable to you, one ill-favoured in beauty, who will not reproach you." But King Kuśa said, " Mother, I will have nothing to do with an ill-favoured wife. Bring me a wife who is unlike me in appearance." Queen Alindā replied, " My son, who will give

[1] Literally, " will not make a contrast," *ullāsaṃ na kariṣyati*. For this sense of *ullāsa*, cf. its use in rhetoric to denote " giving prominence to any subject by comparison or opposition " (*MW*.).

you, ill-favoured in appearance as you are, a wife who is lovely in appearance?" King Kuśa said, "Mother, bring me a beautiful wife, and fetch[1] her from a distant land at the price of gold."

(441) Then Queen Alindā summoned the ministers and priests and reported the matter to them. "Sirs," said she, "find a wife for King Kuśa to be his chief queen and foremost of all the many thousands of women in the king's court." So the ministers and priests in obedience to the queen sent out brāhmans and messengers to the cities and provinces in all directions "Go, sirs," said they, "find a maiden who will be suitable for King Kuśa, the son of King Ikṣvāku."

Now the brāhmans and messengers in scouring the sixteen provinces[2] came to the city called Kaṇṇakubja[3] in the province of Śūrasena.[4] There a king of the Madrakas,[5] named Mahendraka, was reigning. He had a daughter, named Sudarśanā, who was lovely and beautiful; there was none her like for beauty in the whole of Jambudvīpa.

Now this king's daughter, riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, happened to be going out of the city to the park, in great royal splendour, magnificence and pomp, and attended by her friends and slaves. And those brāhmans and messengers saw her, and they thought, "This king's daughter is very lovely and beautiful; she is a suitable chief queen for King Kuśa." The next day, in the morning, the brāhmans and messengers, attired and dressed up, stood at the door of the king's palace. When King Mahendraka entered his reception chamber, the brāhmans and messengers saluted him and stood before him.

Then a brāhman,[6] having hailed the king, said to him, "Your majesty, in Benares there lives one named Kuśa, the son of King Ikṣvāku. He solicits of you your daughter

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[1] Reading, with Senart, *vyapakarṣeṇa* for *vyayakarmeṇa*.

[2] Generally "great provinces," *mahājanapadā*, see Vol. I, p. 157, *n.* 2, and p. 240, *n.* 2.

[3] Pali, Kaṇṇakujja, "a district in Jambudvīpa. It is mentioned in a list of places passed by the Buddha on his way from Verañjā to Bārāṇasī." (*D.P.N.*)

[4] Pali Sūrasena, or Surasena, "one of the sixteen Mahājanapadā, in the south of the Kuru country." (*D.P.N.*)

[5] Or Madras, Pali Madda. Two or three other Pali tales speak of marriage alliances between this people and the people of Benares. (*D.P.N.*)

[6] *I.e.* the spokesman among the messengers.

Sudarśanā as his wife. Now King Kuśa is a distinguished man, as he rules over sixty thousand cities."

King Mahendraka thought to himself, "Connexion with such a man will be worth while," and to the brāhmans and messengers he said, (**442**) "Sirs, King Kuśa now becomes my friend. I give him my daughter to wife." The brāhman then bought some sweetmeats, and, having summoned the other brāhmans, asked them to choose[1] some. "Friends," said he, "King Mahendraka here offers his daughter Sudarśanā as wife to King Kuśa. So, friends, offer him this water."[2] And the brāhmans and messengers did as the brāhman told them. They then addressed King Mahendraka and took their leave. In due time they reached Benares.

The brāhmans and messengers reported to the ministers and the priests. "We have found," said they, "such a maiden that there is no other maiden like her for beauty in all Jambudvīpa. In the province called Śūrasena there is a city named Kanyakubja,[3] where a king of the Madrakas, named Mahendraka, is reigning. His daughter, who is named Sudarśanā, is lovely and beautiful." When the ministers and the priests had heard this they reported it to Queen Alindā, saying, "Such a maiden has been found that there is no other maiden her like for beauty in all Jambudvīpa."

When Queen Alindā heard this, she was glad and pleased. "A wife unlike my son has been found for him," said she. And she communicated the news[4] to her son Kuśa. "My son," said she, "such a maiden has been found that there is no other maiden her like for beauty in the whole of Jambudvīpa. In the province called Śūrasena, there is a city named Kanyakubja, where a king of the Madrakas, named Mahendraka, is reigning. His daughter, named Sudarśanā, is lovely and beautiful."

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[1] *Vāreti*, corresponding to the double causative *vārāpeti* of Pali. The simple causative *vareti*, "solicits," "choose in marriage," is found on the preceaing page. This method of celebrating the betrothal savours of sympathetic magic, the sweetness of the confections (*modaka*), being supposed to portend or influence the happiness of the forthcoming marriage.

[2] *Udakam*. We might, perhaps, expect *modakam*, Mahendraka also being asked to partake of the sweet confections symbolical of the event. But the use of water, *e.g.*, pouring it on the hands of the parties to a bargain, was a recognised legal symbol that the bargain was closed. See Vol. 1, p. 297, *n*. 3.

[3] So spelt here.

[4] *Rocayati* for the usual *ārocayati*, but the reading is not certain.

King Kuśa was glad and pleased when he heard his mother's words, and he addressed his ministers, councillors, brāhmans, priests and royal tutors, saying, "Sirs, (**443**) in the province called Śūrasena is a city named Kanyakubja, where a king of the Madrakas, named Mahendraka, reigns. His daughter is named Sudarśanā. Go, fetch her for me." So the ministers and councillors, the brāhmans, priests, and royal tutors, in obedience to King Kuśa, equipped an army of four divisions and set out with great splendour and magnificence.

After they had set out this thought occurred to Queen Alindā: "What means can there be," she thought, "whereby Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, shall not know what King Kuśa is like in complexion and form?" And it was this that she decided on: "Let me now," said she, "provide an inner chamber[1] where King Kuśa may divert, enjoy and amuse himself with his wife, without, however, her knowing what King Kuśa is like." And Queen Alindā prepared such an inner chamber which was plastered inside and outside,[2] draped with festoons of fine cloth, made fragrant with incense, and strewn with garlands of flowers. Here King Kuśa could divert, enjoy and amuse himself with his wife.

In due course the ministers, councillors, brāhmans, priests and royal tutors came to the city of Kanyakubja in the province of Śūrasena. They went to King Mahendraka, hailed him, and standing before him said "Your majesty, your son-in-law Kuśa enquires after your health and that of your court. He asks you to give him your daughter Sudarśanā to be his wife, as your majesty promised." King Mahendraka saluted and greeted the ministers, councillors, brāhmans, priests and royal tutors, and gave them regal and costly clothes, ornaments and food. The ministers and councillors tarried there for some days, and then they addressed King Mahendraka, saying, "Your majesty, we have come a long way. Give us the bride,[3] and let us go." Then King Mahendraka, with great royal splendour (**444**) and magnificence, and to the accompaniment of shouts of "bravo" and "hurrah" from the great

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[1] *Garbhagṛiha.*
[2] *Liptopalipta*, cf. Pali *ullitāvalitta, A.* I. 101.
[3] Literally, "let the 'carrying-away' be done," *vivāha kriyatu, vivāha* being equivalent to *kanyā-dāna*, "the giving of the bride," while *āvāha* = *kanyā-gahaṇa*, "the taking of the bride." See *SnA.* 448.

crowd of people and the beating of drums, kettledrums and tabours and the blowing of trumpets, performed the rite of giving the bride,[1] and gave his daughter Sudarśanā to be the wife of King Kuśa. And the ministers and priests performed the rite of taking the bride,[2] addressed King Mahendraka and departed.

In due course they reached the park in Benares. Thence Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, was led with great honour and pomp into the city of Benares and into the royal court. She came to her mother-in-law, Queen Alindā, and, having bowed at her feet, stood in front of her.[3] When Queen Alindā saw her daughter-in-law she was delighted, pleased and glad.

Now in the dark inner chamber King Kuśa sat diverting, delighting and amusing himself with the king's daughter Sudarśanā, with the aid of costly means of joy and pleasure.[4] But as the king's daughter Sudarśanā was diverting, delighting and amusing herself with King Kuśa in the dark inner chamber this thought occurred to her: "The family of Ikṣvāku to which King Kuśa belongs," thought she, "is prosperous, wealthy, at peace, rich in food, and an unfailing mine of precious stones. But this bed-chamber of ours is dark, and no lamps are lit in it. We do not see each other with our eyes. I do not know what King Kuśa is like in complexion and form, nor does King Kuśa know me[5] and what Queen Sudarśanā is like in complexion and form. I do not understand the reason[6] why no lamps burn in our bed-chamber either night or day."

Then Queen Sudarśanā privily questioned King Kuśa, saying, "Sire, this royal family is prosperous, wealthy, and an unfailing mine of precious stones, but in this bed-chamber of ours no lamps are lit by night or by day. We so live together in darkness that we do not see each other with our eyes. I do not know what my husband is like, nor does my lord know

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[1] *Vivāhadharma.*

[2] *Vivāhadharma*, but we should expect *āvāhadharma*. See *n*. 3. *p*. 395.

[3] *Pratyusthāsi*, an unusual form from *prati ut-sthā*, which Senart, however, thinks should be retained. Usually the verb means "to rise from one's seat as a mark of respect."

[4] *Mahārahehi upabhogaparibhogehi.*

[5] *Kīdṛiśā me Sudarśanā. Me*, here and immediately below, is strangely placed, unless it is a mistake for *se* = *asya*, "does not know what his Sudarśanā is like."

[6] *Antaram*, "the obstacle against," but, as Senart suggests, the true reading may be *kāraṇam* as in the repetition below.

me and what Queen Sudarśanā is like. I do not understand the reason why (445) no lamps are lit in our bed-chamber." King Kuśa replied, "Lady, I, too, do not know why the lamps are not lit in our bed-chamber. But my mother will know, ask her."

So Queen Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, at dawn of day when King Kuśa had gone out, attired herself and put on her jewellery. She approached Queen Alindā and bowed at her feet. And when she had thus bowed to her mother-in-law Sudarśanā said, "Madam, this royal family is prosperous, rich, and an unfailing mine of precious stones. Yet in our bed-chamber no lamps are lit by day or by night, so that we live together in darkness and do not see each other with our eyes. What reason is there that the lamps should not be lit in our chamber?" Queen Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, "Sudarśanā, my daughter, you both, husband and wife, are sublimely beautiful. I have seen none other like you. The object is, therefore, that you should not see each other's sublime beauty and become distraught. Besides, I have made a covenant with the gods that you should see each other only after a long time, twelve years after my daughter-in-law Sudarśanā has a son or daughter. This is our family custom."

Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, replied, "It was indeed a wicked covenant that you made with your gods, whereby we should not see each other for a long time." Alindā, the queen-mother said, "What can I do? I must keep my covenant with the gods, so that you do not see each other's sublime beauty and become distraught." Thus, then, was Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, persuaded by Alindā, the queen-mother.

Some time afterwards Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, prostrated herself before her mother-in-law and appealed to her, saying, (446) "Madam, I wish to see my husband." Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, "Let be, my daughter. In good time you shall see him." But Sudarśanā appealed to her again and again. "Madam," she said, "I should like to see him just once." Then the thought occurred to Alindā, the queen-mother: "Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, is anxious to see Kuśa. If I do not dispel it her[1] curiosity will become too

[1] *Se = asyā:* Cf. p. 13, *n.* 5.

great." So she said, "Sudarśanā, my daughter, very well. To-morrow I shall show you King Kuśa in his reception-chamber. A view of the king has been granted to the people."

Then Queen Alindā spoke to King Kuśa, saying, "My son, Sudarśanā here, a king's daughter, is anxious to see you. But you are ill-favoured in beauty, and I fear that when she sees what you are like there will be a change of heart in her. Therefore pretend that the handsomest and fairest of these five hundred princes is the king. Make him sit on the throne, and he will have to be pointed out to Sudarśanā as being King Kuśa. Thus Sudarśanā will believe that King Kuśa is of such appearance, and not turn her heart away from him."

King Kuśa replied, "Mother, let this be done."

Now of those princes the handsomest and fairest was Kuśadruma. So he, arrayed in regal and costly clothes and jewels in the manner of a king, was led to the throne in the royal[1] reception-chamber, under the pretence that he was the king. All the other princes also were arrayed and decked out, and led in, each to his throne. The ministers, priests, army officers, merchants, citizens, villagers, country people and the royal retainers all sparkled like the attendants of a deva. When his brother, Prince Kuśadruma, had taken his seat on the throne, King Kuśa took a sunshade and held it over his left side.

Then Queen Alindā, with Sudarśanā her daughter-in-law, and attended by many hundreds of other queens came out of the palace and stood at the window.[2] Alindā, the queen-mother, (**447**) pointed out Prince Kuśadruma as he sat on the throne to her daughter-in-law Sudarśanā. "Sudarśanā, my daughter," said she, "that is your husband. Look at him." And Sudarśanā, seeing Prince Kuśadruma seated on the throne, rejoiced in her heart, and said, "Great has been my good fortune in that I have such a comely, handsome and fair husband, who excels the whole royal entourage in beauty." Sudarśanā, a king's daughter, then continued her survey of the whole assembly until her keen woman's perception[3] caught sight of the royal sunshade-bearer. And when she saw him her heart

[1] *Rājakṛityā.* For the force of the suffix *-kṛitya* see Vol. I, p. 295, *n.* I.
[2] *Siṃhapañjara*, Pali *sīhapañjara*. Sc. of the reception-chamber.
[3] *Sahasrastrībuddhi*, "perception (equal to that) of a thousand women."

was repelled, and she became distressed and grieved. She said to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, "Madam, King Kuśa is radiant, and the princes are good and fair. The royal assembly shines like an assembly of the devas. But this sunshade-bearer is unsightly; he does not befit such a king who is like the son of a deva. This sunshade-bearer is a monstrosity, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied, and black, the colour of a heap of soot. The whole glory of the royal assembly is marred by the sunshade-bearer. Is there in this wide realm no other man who could bear the king's sunshade? If my husband is willing to do something to please me, then he will not allow this sunshade-bearer to stand in his presence, but will have another man to bear his sunshade."

Queen Alindā replied, "Sudarśanā, my daughter, do not talk so. His form does not matter. For though he is ill-favoured in appearance, in moral qualities he is high-minded, virtuous, truthful, righteous, meritorious, strong, and able to defeat rival kingdoms. It is through his might that no enemy has done harm to us in our sixty thousand cities, and in our villages and provinces. It is through his might that we all live in comfort." In this way Sudarśanā (**448**) was persuaded by Queen Alindā.

But Sudarśanā then talked privily with King Kuśa. "Sire," said she, "is there not in your wide realm some other man who could be your sunshade-bearer? The sunshade-bearer you now have is unsightly. If you wish to do something to please me, then send[1] this sunshade-bearer away and appoint another man." The king replied, "Do not thus revile the sunshade-bearer. What does his form matter? If a man has moral worth, what matters his form? This sunshade-bearer has the moral qualities of being high-minded, good and strong, and through his might no enemy can do harm to these sixty thousand cities." So Queen Sudarśanā was persuaded by King Kuśa also.

Now King Kuśa, too, in his turn was anxious to see his queen, Sudarśanā, and he appealed to his mother, Queen Alindā. "Mother," said he, "I have a longing to see Queen Sudarśanā." Queen Alindā replied, "My son, you are ill-favoured in beauty.

[1] *Mellehi*. See Vol. I, p. 308, *n*. I.

If Sudarśanā learns that King Kuśa is like this in complexion and form, it is certain that she will kill herself by some violent means." King Kuśa said, " What can be done ? Some means must be devised whereby I may be able to see Sudarśanā without her knowing who I am." Queen Alindā replied, " My son, here is a way. When Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the other queens and all the women of the court, goes out to the park to look at the lotuses, then do you too, dressed simply, go to the park, step down into the lotus pool up to your neck and stay there with your head concealed by the lotus leaves. I shall so arrange matters that Sudarśanā herself will come down the steps of the lotus pool to gather lotuses just at the spot where you stand. Because Sudarśanā dotes on flowers and leaves you will see her as you desire to do."

(449) Now it then happened that florists brought into the royal palace some lotuses which were fragrant and in full bloom, and garlands of various kinds. When Sudarśanā saw these blossoming lotuses she appealed to her mother-in-law, Queen Alindā, saying, " Madam, I wish to see the ponds where these blossoming lotuses grow." Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, " Very well, my daughter, you shall see all the ponds. Let us set out."

Then Queen Alindā informed King Kuśa, saying, " My son, so that you may know, I tell you that Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, intends to go out to see the ponds. If you wish to see her, go out to the park, simply dressed, and stand in a place where Sudarśanā may not see you and learn that you are King Kuśa."

So King Kuśa, in obedience to his mother, at dawn of day went to the park simply clad in ordinary clothes, and sat down waiting for the women. He went down the steps of the pool at the place where there were most lotuses, and sat there concealing himself among the lotus leaves. Then all the women came out. As the Nandana[1] grove is made gay when filled with throngs of Apsarases so was this park made gay by the king's women.

When Queen Sudarśanā saw those blossoming and charming lotuses in the pools, she said to the other queens, " Ladies, come, let us gather lotuses from the pools." The queens replied,

[1] A park of the devas. See Vol. 1, p. 27, *n.* 1.

" Very well, your majesty, (450) let us gather lotuses." Then Queen Sudarśanā with the other queens went down[1] the steps at the place where King Kuśa stood, Sudarśanā going first.[2] She stretched out her hand for lotuses and was about to gather one when suddenly she was embraced by King Kuśa. And it seemed to Queen Sudarśanā that she had been seized by a water demon.[3] She called out " Help, help.[4] I have been violated,[5] and am being devoured by a water demon." But all the women stood on one side for they said among themselves that King Kuśa was dallying with his queen, though she would say " Help, help, I am being devoured by a water-demon." When the women saw that King Kuśa had had his wish, her attendants joined Queen Sudarśanā and the *bali*[6] offering was made. " The censer is burning,"[7] said they, " the evil has been allayed and done with for you. Hurrah! You have been freed from the water demon."

Queen Sudarśanā with the other queens then spent the day diverting, enjoying and amusing themselves by the lotus-pond, and in the evening returned to the palace. Queen Sudarśanā entered King Kuśa's bed-chamber. The king said to her, " My queen went to see the lotus-pond, but she brought no lotuses for me. You do not love me dearly." The queen replied, " Your majesty, how could I have any lotuses? I had gone down to the pool and was about to pick some when I was

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[1] *Okasta.* See Vol. 1, p. 188, *n.* 6.

[2] Literally, " the other queens (*anyā devīyo* to be supplied from the context) putting Sudarśanā in front," *Sudarśanāṃ agrato kṛitvā.*

[3] *Rākṣasa.* See Vol. 1, p. 73, *n.* 5.

[4] *Avidhā.* See Vol. 1, p. 251, where the exclamation is left untranslated. In the present passage, however, the force of it is clearly that given in the translation.

[5] *Praveśitā.* So translated on the analogy of *praviś*, " to have sexual intercourse," and the expression in *Divy.* 541, *praveśitā dārakam*, " pregnant with a boy." In the repetition below, however, p. 452 (text), one of the MSS. shows a variant *pravakṣitā*, which would seem to suggest that at least one copyist felt the want here of a " verb of saying " to introduce the queen's words. As the text stands they are denoted by " *ti* " simply. Such a verb would definitely suit the context better.

[6] One of the five great sacrifices or rites enjoined by Manu. It consisted in throwing the remains of the morning or evening meal into the air, generally at the door of the house, as an offering more particularly to the household deities, but also, as here, to the spirits of the wilds.

[7] ? *Kaṭacchu jvalitā. Katacchu*, Pali, " ladle, spoon," also occurs in *Divy.* 165 (*kaṭaccha*), and 398 (*dhūpakaṭacchu*). The latter instance would seem to show that *kaṭacchu* could be used for the vessel in which incense was burnt. The idea is that the incense was burnt as a kind of purificatory rite for Sudarśanā after her contact with the supposed demon.

embraced by a water-demon, and I came near[1] being devoured by him. But I was rescued by the women of the court. Your majesty, the water-demon in the lotus-pool was exactly like your sunshade-bearer. I should think that they were born of the same mother." King Kuśa then said to her (**451**) " My lady, you must not go out again to see the lotus-pond. I, too, was nearly devoured by a water-demon."

Then at the time of the mango harvest the royal mango growers brought to the palace mangoes of various kinds. When Queen Sudarśanā saw these various mangoes she appealed to her mother-in-law, Alindā the queen-mother, saying, " Madam, I want to see the mango-groves." Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, " Very well, my daughter, you shall see them. To-morrow I will take you out to the mango-groves."

Alindā, the queen-mother, summoned the mango growers and gave them instructions. " To-morrow," she said, " Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court will be coming out to see the mango grove. Therefore have the grove cleaned and swept, drape the trunks of the trees in green cloth, adorn the grove with festoons of bright cloth, make it fragrant with incense and strew it with heaps of flowers."

The keepers of the park in obedience to Alindā the queen-mother decorated that part of the park where the mango-grove was.

Queen Alindā next informed King Kuśa, saying, " My son, so that you may know, I tell you that to-morrow Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, will be going out to see the royal mango-grove. If, as I think you are,[1] you are eager to see Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, then go, simply dressed in ordinary clothes, to the mango-grove and stand there in such a place where Sudarśanā may not discover that it is King Kuśa who is there." Following his mother's instructions he went, simply dressed in ordinary clothes, and stood beneath the finest mango of all in the whole grove.

Then Sudarśanā, attended by the women of the court, with great royal splendour and magnificence and riding in brilliant royal chariots, set out for the mango-grove. Sudarśanā

[1] *Manāsmi* = *manāgasmi*.

[1] *Me* simply, in the text. It may be explained as an ethic dative. A similar instance occurs in Vol. 1, p. 131. (Translation, " as far as I am concerned," p. 103.)

alighted from her chariot and, accompanied by several hundred queens, entered the grove. As in Citraratha and Miśrakāvana, the parks[1] of the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, (452) the *kovidāra*[2] and the *yātraka*[3] trees are graced when they are surrounded by the devas, so the mango-grove was graced when surrounded by the women of the king's court.

Meanwhile Queen Sudarśanā with the others strolled up and down the mango-grove, picking the fine mangoes, eating the fruit and gathering various flowers. She came to the middle of the grove where King Kuśa was sitting. Then King Kuśa jumped out from beneath the mango tree and embraced Queen Sudarśanā when she was looking the other way. She was frightened and terrified, and thought that she had been seized by a demon[4] of the forest. She cried out, "Help, help.[5] I have been violated.[6] I am being devoured by a demon of the forest." But the women ran off this way and that. "King Kuśa," said they, "is diverting, enjoying and amusing himself with Queen Sudarśanā in the mango-grove. But Sudarśanā will go on saying 'Help, help. Run, women, I am being devoured by a demon of the forest'."

When the women knew that King Kuśa had diverted, enjoyed and amused himself with Sudarśanā as much as he wanted, they returned to the place with armfuls of flowers. And the hundreds of queens threw handfuls of flowers over King Kuśa and cried out, "Fie on you, demon, fie on you demon." So King Kuśa let go of Queen Sudarśanā and returned to the palace. Her retinue then gathered round Queen Sudarśanā and made the *bali* offering. They then said, "The censer is burning; the evil is allayed and done with. Hurrah! You have escaped alive from the demon."

Then Queen Sudarśanā with the other queens spent the day in the mango-grove, diverting, enjoying and amusing themselves as they wished, and in the evening they returned to the palace. Sudarśanā entered King Kuśa's bed-chamber. (453)

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[1] See Vol. 1, p. 27.
[2] See Vol. 1, p. 27, *n.* 1.
[3] *Yātraka* must be the same celestial tree as that named *pāriyātraka*, Vol. 1, p. 267 (text) and *pāripātra*, p. 27, *ib.* See Vol. 1, pp. 27, 221.
[4] *Piśāca*, see Vol. 1, p. 74, *n.* 2.
[5] See p. 401, *n.* 4.
[6] See p. 401, *n.* 5.

King Kuśa said to her, "The queen went out to see the mangoes, but she did not bring me any. She does not love me therefore." The queen replied, "Your majesty, how could I have any mangoes? I had gone out to see the mangoes, but I was embraced by a demon of the forest[1] and came near being devoured by him. But I was rescued from his clutches by the women of the court. And, your majesty, the demon of the forest was very much like both your sunshade-bearer and the demon in the lotus-pool. I should think all three were born of the same mother; they are all so much alike." The king said, "My queen, do not go to see the mango-grove again. I, too, was nearly devoured there by a demon of the forest."

On another occasion, again, did Queen Sudarśanā appeal to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, saying, "I have a desire to see King Kuśa's troop of elephants. I hear that King Kuśa has a large troop of sixty thousand elephants." Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, "Very well, my daughter, you shall go out to-morrow to see the royal elephant troop."

Then Alindā, the queen-mother, summoned the mahout and gave him instructions. "To-morrow," she said, "Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, will be going out to view the stable of the king's elephants. So have the elephants and their stable decorated." The mahout, in obedience to the command of Alindā, the queen-mother, had the sixty thousand elephants decked out in all sorts of ornaments. They were covered with network of gold, and had gay favours[2] on their tusks and trunks, while their hoofs were like coral. The elephant stable was cleaned and swept, strewn with heaps of flowers, hung with festoons of bright cloth and made fragrant with incense.

Next Alindā, the queen-mother, informed King Kuśa, saying

[1] The text has *me vanapiśācena ālingitā*, where *me* is untranslatable, and its correctness may be questioned.

[2] ? *patimokāni*. Possibly this is the same word as *pratimodaka* in Vol. 1, p. 195, (Trans. p. 154, *n.* 6), where the allusion is to certain decorative features of a city gate. Were it not for the fact that the MSS. readings at the present place seem to suggest *paṭimoka* or *pratimoka* as the more probable form, one would be inclined now to accept Senart's suggestion in Vol. 1 that the word is a derivative from *pratimud* (Caus. *pratimodaya*—"to make glad," etc.). At least the context here makes it clear that the allusion is to trimmings put on the elephants' tusks and trunks (*dantapatimokāni śuṇḍāpatimokāni*). But the MSS. here make the word still more obscure by having the syllable *ke* or *ka* between the *ti* and *mo*.

(454) " My son, so that you may know, I tell you that in the morning Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, will be going out to view the royal elephant-stable. So go, simply dressed, to the elephant-stable and stand there in such a place that Sudarśanā may not know that it is King Kuśa who is there."

So at dawn King Kuśa, in obedience to his mother's instructions, went to the elephant-stable simply dressed like an elephant-keeper, and sat down near an elephant to wait for Sudarśanā. At length, attended by her mother-in-law, Alindā, and the women of the court and riding in a royal chariot, she came to the elephant-stable. She alighted from her chariot and, accompanied by several hundred slaves, went in. And King Kuśa in the guise of an elephant-keeper sat among the elephants contemplating Sudarśanā.

Queen Sudarśanā, after strolling about the elephant-stable with the women of the court, was leaving to go back to the palace when King Kuśa hit her in the back with a piece of fresh and steaming elephant dung. Her royal garments were soiled by it. Queen Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, protested to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, saying, " Madam, this mahout of the king's should be flogged. Is it possible that she who is King Kuśa's chief wife should be pelted by him with elephant-dung ? " Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, " Let be, my daughter, go to.[1] This royal mahout is inviolate. So what can we do ? " In this way Sudarśanā was appeased by her mother-in-law.

On another occasion, again, did Sudarśanā appeal to her mother-in-law Alindā, the queen-mother. " Madam," she said, " I wish to see King Kuśa's herd of horses." Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, " Very well, my daughter, you shall go out to see King Kuśa's herd of horses."

Then (455) Alindā, the queen-mother, summoned the grooms and gave them instructions. " To-morrow," she said, " Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, is going out to view the royal herd of horses. Decorate all the sixty thousand horses and have the stable cleaned and swept

[1] *Mellehi.* Although the repetition below has *marṣehi,* " forget it," Senart is inclined to retain *mellehi,* which is also found on p. 448 (text) of the present volume, while the related form, *millehi,* occurs in Vol. 1, p. 368 (text). See Vol. 1, p. 308.

and strewn with heaps of flowers." The grooms in obedience to the command of Alindā the queen-mother, decorated the sixty thousand horses with all sorts of trimmings, cleaned and swept the stable and strewed it with heaps of flowers.

Next Alindā, the queen-mother, informed King Kuśa. "Kuśa, my son," she said, "so that you may know, I tell you that Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, will be going out to view the royal stable. If you are eager to see her then go, simply dressed, to the stable and stand there in such a place that Sudarśanā may not know that it is King Kuśa who is there." So King Kuśa in obedience to his mother's instruction, at dawn of day disguised himself as a groom, scattered hay for the horses and sat down to wait for Sudarśanā.

In the meantime Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, together with her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, and all the women of the court set out for the stable riding in bejewelled palanquins. Sudarśanā stepped out of her palanquin and, attended by several hundred queens, entered the stable. And King Kuśa stood behind the horses contemplating Sudarśanā.

Queen Sudarśanā, after strolling about the stable with the other women, was leaving to go back to the palace when King Kuśa hit her in the back with a piece of fresh and steaming horse-dung. And her royal garments were soiled by it.

Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, said to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, "Madam, that groom must be flogged. Is it possible that she who is King Kuśa's chief wife (**456**) should be pelted by a groom with horse-dung?" Alindā, the queen-mother, answered, "My daughter, forget it. These royal grooms are inviolate. So what can we do?"

On yet another occasion did Sudarśanā appeal to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen mother. "Madam," she said, "I have a desire to see King Kuśa's collection of chariots. I have heard that King Kuśa has a large collection of sixty thousand chariots." Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, "Very well, my daughter, to-morrow you shall go out to view King Kuśa's collection of chariots."

Then Alindā, the queen-mother, summoned the keepers of King Kuśa's chariots and gave them instructions. "To-morrow,"

she said, " Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, together with the women of the court, will be going out to view King Kuśa's collection of chariots." And the chariot-keepers, after hearing the queen-mother's words, on the next day[1] got ready the sixty thousand chariots, which, draped in skins of lion, leopard and tiger and in white cloth, moved with a merry rattling, with banners, flags and pennons flying.[2]

Next Alindā, the queen-mother, informed King Kuśa. " My son," she said, " so that you may know, I tell you that to-morrow Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with the women of the court, will be going out to view the royal collection of chariots. If you are eager to see her, then go, simply dressed, to the chariot shed and stand there in such a place that Sudarśanā may not know that it is King Kuśa who is there."

Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, with Alindā the queen-mother and all the women of the court set out for the chariot shed riding in royal chariots. In the meantime King Kuśa, in obedience to his mother's instructions, at dawn of day went to the chariot shed simply dressed in the guise of a chariot-keeper, and sat down among the chariots to wait for Sudarśanā.

Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, alighted from her chariot and, accompanied by several hundred queens, entered the chariot shed. After strolling about the chariot shed with the other queens, she was leaving to go back to the palace when King Kuśa hit her in the back with a piece of fresh and steaming cow dung. (457) Her royal garments were soiled by it. Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, said to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, " Madam, that chariot-keeper should be flogged. Is it possible that she who is King Kuśa's chief wife should be pelted by him with cow dung ? " Alindā, the queen-mother, replied, " My daughter, forget it. This royal chariot-keeper is inviolate. He is the guardian of the king's store of chariots. So what can we do ? " And Sudarśanā was appeased by Alindā, the queen-mother.

[1] *Aparajjukāto* from Pali *aparajju* (= Sk. *aparedyu:*) + suffix *ka* + *atas*, adverbial suffix of " time."

[2] The translation of *sakhurapravālāni*, " with hoofs like coral," is omitted as being out of place. It must obviously be referred to the thousands of horses (*aśvasahasrāṇi*—implied), but coming as it does in a series of epithets describing the chariots it is practically impossible to render. Its presence is due to the careless application of a stereotyped formula to a context in which it is not wholly appropriate. Cf. p. 373, *n*. 4.

On another occasion a fire broke out in the royal elephant-stable, a great blazing conflagration.[1] Thousands of elephant-keepers and the mahouts, and a large crowd of other people rushed to the elephant-stable to put out the fire but they were not able to extinguish the flames. All the women of the court were frightened and terrified by the fear of fire, being afraid that it would burn the royal palace also. They all ran away from the neighbourhood of the elephant-stable and sat waiting to see who could put out the blaze.[2] The great crowd strove until they were tired,[3] but they were not able to extinguish the blazing conflagration, nor was the crowd able to throw down the thick, bulky and burning roofs of the elephant stables.[4]

Meanwhile King Kuśa was strolling up and down outside the city. One of the ministers went to report to him, saying, "Your majesty, so that you may know, I tell you that a fire is blazing in the royal elephant stable." When he heard this, King Kuśa mounted an elephant and came at a gallop, attended by his retinue, to the elephant stable. All the women of the court saw the king rushing in. And as he rushed in, by his sole effort the blazing roof, (458) sides, and joints[5] of the walls were thrown away from the elephant stable. He also cut off with his hand and at one stroke[6] the bonds of those elephants which were tied with thongs. He threw out the elephants which had been overcome by the fire, flinging them to one side away from the danger of fire.

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[1] *Agnidāha. Dāha*, Prakrit for *dāgha*. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 23 (text). The form is used throughout the present passage.

[2] Literally, "the burning of the elephants," *hastidāgha*.

[3] *Khijjante = khidyante*. But it would be simpler, perhaps, to read *svijjante* (or *-ti*) from *svid*, "they perspired."

[4] *Sc.*, in an attempt to prevent the fire spreading or to save the elephants. The text has been emended here to read *uttaptāni* ("burning" or, perhaps *uttarāṇi* "upper parts") *bahujano* for the compound word printed as *bahujanauttakāni*, which as Senart remarks does not admit of any analysis that gives sense. This rearrangement of the two parts of the apparent compound, besides giving adequate sense and supplying a subject, *bahujano*, to the verb of the clause, *śaknoti*, corresponding to *janakāyam* the subject of the *śaknoti* of the first clause, would seem to be justified also by the hiatus between them. Their mistaken order in the text may be regarded as a copyist's error.

[5] Reading, as Senart suggests, *talakāṇḍakāni*, "surface-joints," for *talakaṇṭakāni*. But it is not clear to what part of the building the term refers.

[6] *Chaṭacchaṭāya*. Senart compares *chaṭacchaṭāye* at Vol. 1, p. 317, which he explains as "lourdement," literally "en grande masse." Trans. p. 265, "heavily."

Thus the burning elephant stable was instantly extinguished by King Kuśa, and the whole troop of elephants rescued from the fire. Countless thousands witnessed this display of energy and bravery by King Kuśa, and gave vent to thousands of cries of " bravo ! " The women of the court witnessed the manly bravery of King Kuśa, and in their gladness and joy all exclaimed, " Behold the strength and bravery of King Kuśa."

Then a hunchbacked woman gladly and impulsively calling " King, king," shouted at[1] King Kuśa :—

Seated on his throne,[2] strong, rich in splendour, and mighty, he illuminates all the world around him, like the moon in the sky.

Like Kāmadeva, red-eyed like the partridge, he shines ; the powerful valiant king has rescued the elephants.

King Kuśa was pleased with the hunchbacked woman and offered her the choice of a boon.

'Tis a good hunchbacked dame who praises the king. I will give you four garments of Benares cloth.

Now when Sudarśanā heard the hunchbacked woman speak the praises of Kuśa, she thought to herself, " It must be King Kuśa (459) whom this woman is praising." When she saw that King Kuśa was of such complexion and form, she was stricken in her[3] heart, and became distressed and grieved. " Alas ! " said she, " that my husband should be like this, ill-favoured in complexion, repulsive, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied, black, like a heap of soot. There is no difference at all between him and an ogre." And in her anger with the hunchbacked woman she said :—

Can we not cut off with a sharp sword the tongue of this woman who sings the praises of the king ?

The hunchbacked woman sought to appease Queen Sudarśanā with the verse :—

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[1] Or, perhaps, " croaked at," the verb being *saṃrāveti*. Possibly the use of this particular verb is to be explained by the description of the voice of the hunchbacked woman in the corresponding Jātaka in Pali, *khujjāgajjitaṃ gajji*, " shouting aloud with the harsh voice of a humpback." (*J*. 5. 299.)

[2] Reading *siṃhāsapīṭha* for *siṃhāsupīḍa*. See p. 384, *n*. 2. Two MSS. have °*pīṭha* and one of them also °*sapīṭha*.

[3] *Se = asyā:* Cf. p. 13, *n*. 5. The form recurs below on the same page.

Kings can hold over one the threat of prison or of death.
So I tell his praise to safeguard my own life.

When Queen Sudarśanā had seen that King Kuśa was like that, ugly and hideous, she no longer found joy in the king's court which hitherto had been so delightful, like a home of the devas, and so full of good things. She had no desire for food and drink. "I will not eat or take nourishment," said she. "What is life to me, since I have to live with an ogre?" And Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, appealed to her mother-in-law, Alindā, the queen-mother, saying, "Madam, let me free. I will go back to Kanyakubja, to my mother and father. If you do not let me go I will presently do violence to myself and kill myself."

Alindā, the queen-mother, reflected, "It is better that this king's daughter lives than that she should die." So she said, "My daughter, go where you wish."

(**460**) So Sudarśanā, the king's daughter, followed by a hunchbacked woman, mounted her horse-carriage, left Benares and set out on her journey. In due course she came to Kanyakubja, to her mother and father. Meanwhile, when King Kuśa entered his bed-chamber in the evening, he could not find Queen Sudarśanā. Search was made for her all over the palace, but she could not be found anywhere. And King Kuśa fretted, sorrowed and grieved at not finding Sudarśanā. From all his numerous harem he refused to take another woman.

When he learnt that Queen Sudarśanā, followed by the hunchbacked woman, had gone to her people's place, King Kuśa appealed to Alindā, his mother, saying, "Mother, I, too, will go to Kanyakubja, to Mahendra,[1] the king of the Madrakas, and my father-in-law, and bring back Queen Sudarśanā." Alindā, the queen-mother, on hearing Kuśa her son saying that he would go to Kanyakubja, was overcome by love for her son and regard for the kingdom, and she staggered, collapsed and fell to the ground, filled with sorrow for her son. "Behold," she said, "the harm I did through my ill-luck.[2] When I sought out Sudarśanā, the daughter of Mahendraka, king of the

[1] So for Mahendraka, here.
[2] *Aho mama mandabhāgyāye anartham*, literally, "Behold the harm of me unfortunate."

Madrakas at Kanyakubja, and brought her here, I did not know how things would turn out for my son, King Kuśa."

Then Alindā, the queen-mother, spoke to her son, saying, "My son, you are the son of King Ikṣvāku. You have been delicately nurtured and brought up in comfort. The country people feed on barley meal, dress in woollen clothes, and draw a bare sustenance from their daily toil. How will you fare as you travel among them?" King Kuśa replied. "Mother, I shall earn my living as I go along by dancing, singing, playing, and by various other arts and means. Do not worry, mother."

King Kuśa thus appeased his mother and established his brother Kuśadruma on the throne, saying to him, "My brother, **(461)** rule over these sixty-thousand cities, with the villages and the provinces. These sixty-thousand elephants, decked out in all their trappings, covered with net-work of gold, and having hoofs like coral are for you. And so are the sixty-thousand horses, all of them fleet steeds from Sindh decked out in all sorts of trimmings, and these sixty-thousand chariots, draped in skins of lion, tiger, leopard and in white cloth, and moving with a merry sound with sunshades, banners and flags aloft,[1] all are conveyances for you. Guard this realm until I shall come back." Next King Kuśa gave instructions to his ministers, saying, "This young prince, Kuśadruma, will be your king until I come. Bear this in mind, and so govern the kingdom in righteousness and protect the citizens and the country people."

After he had thus instructed his ministers, put his brother, Kuśadruma, on the throne, and taken courteous leave of his mother, King Kuśa took his lute and set out towards the north. Earning his living by various means as he went on his way to his father-in-law in Kanyakubja, he in due course reached the district of Kanyakubja. In a certain village there he came to a house, and an old woman gave him lodging in a shed. Now in that village a festival was in progress, and the old woman said to King Kuśa, "My son, there is a festival in the village here. Go to the middle of the village, and there you can get something to eat and drink. Then when you have fed come back here."

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[1] Text adds *sakhurapravālāni*, "with hoofs like coral," on which misplaced epithet see p. 373, *n*. 4.

King Kuśa in obedience to the old woman went to the middle of the village. There he so played on his lute and sang his songs that all the villagers approved of him. And the people being thus pleased gave him a milk-bowl[1] full of various eatables, a large water-jug[2] of gruel, a dish of curds and various (462) condiments. King Kuśa carried all this food to the old woman's shed. When the old woman saw the food she was glad. "For," said she, "the minstrel will have one meal here, and in the early morning he will move on. The remains of the food will last me for two or three months." But as he chattered with the old woman King Kuśa ate up half of the food that was in the milk-bowl. The old woman saw it. "Now," said she, "he will presently give me the remainder of the food." But King Kuśa was hungry and ate up all the food in the milk-bowl; not a mouthful was left. Then the old woman thought to herself, "Now that the minstrel has eaten all the food in the large milk-bowl, he will be satisfied. He will not be able to eat the sweetmeats[3] in the water-jug also, and thus there will be enough to last me for a long time." But King Kuśa was hungry after his travel, and ate up the jugful of sweetmeats, the dish of curds and all the condiments. Nothing was left for the old woman.

The old woman was filled with despair. She cried out "Help, help![4] Come, run to my aid. An ogre in human form[5] has come into my house and is going to devour me." But King Kuśa said, "Mother, why do you cry out? What are you doing? Are there no ugly people in the village also? Do not be afraid, nor cry out. I will stay here to-night and to-morrow I will be on my way."

And King Kuśa rose up in the early morning[6] and set out. In due course he reached Kanyakubja, (463) where he entered

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[1] *Gopiṭaka.* The word is also found, apparently in this sense, in *Divy.* 70.

[2] *Alinda* (v.l. *aliṇḍa*), which Senart can only explain by assuming that it is connected with *alingera*, "a small vessel for water" (*BR.*).

[3] *Modaka.* Above, however, the jug was said to be full of "gruel," *odana.*

[4] *Avidhāvidham.* See p. 401, *n.* 4.

[5] Reading *praveṣṭitakāyo manuṣyarūpena*, "his body invested with a human form," for *praveśitakāyo*, etc., "his body made to enter." At the same time, it is strange (but inexplicable), that the past part. *praveśita* should appear once more in such close proximity to the interjection *avidha.* See p. 401, *n.* 5.

[6] Adopting Senart's conjecture of *pratyūṣaleśakāle* for *pratyūṣadeśa°*.

a garland-maker's booth. "I shall settle down[1] at the master garland-maker's," said he, "live here, and so become an expert at his craft."

Now at that garland-maker's booth there were being made neck-garlands, fragrant crests, and wreaths for the king. And King Kuśa made such neck-garlands, fragrant crests, and wreaths, so well and cleverly fashioned, so pretty and so shapely, that all the garland-makers were amazed when they saw them. "Look," said they, "what a fine master this is, what a brilliant craftsman, who makes such neck-garlands, fragrant crests, and wreaths, so well and cleverly made, so pretty and so shapely, that we have never seen their like before." And King Kuśa inscribed all with his name so that Sudarśanā should know they were the handiwork of King Kuśa.

Then these neck-garlands, fragrant crests, and wreaths were taken to the palace and handed to Sudarśanā, "Look, Sudarśanā," said they, "at these bouquets; how well made they are, how pretty, how cleverly fashioned and how variegated." And Sudarśanā had taken the finest of the neck-garlands, crests and wreaths, and was on the point of putting them on[2], when she saw the name of Kuśa. She thought to herself, "These are the handiwork of King Kuśa. He must have come here as an ordinary person."[3] But Sudarśanā rejected those made by King Kuśa and selected others crudely made.[4] Her mother, her sisters and the women of the court remonstrated[5] with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you reject these finest neck-garlands, crests and wreaths and choose others crudely made?" She answered them, saying, "I want none of those. Let me have this." But she revealed her secret reason for this to no one.

Thus King Kuśa derived no profit from his stay at the garland-maker's. So he left (**464**) and settled at a master potter's, where various earthenware vessels were made for the king's household. There King Kuśa made earthenware vessels which were so well and cleverly fashioned and so shapely, that

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[1] *Allīna*, Pali past part. of *ā-līyati*, "to join, stick to."
[2] Literally, "(saying) I shall put them on," *ābandhāmi tti.*
[3] Or, "in simple dress," *prākṛitakena veśena.*
[4] *Prākṛitakāni*, "simple, natural or crude ones."
[5] Literally, "she was spoken to," *vuccati*, pass. of *vac.*

all the potters were amazed when they saw them. "Look," said they, "what a fine master this is, what a smart craftsman who has made these vessels which are so well and cleverly fashioned and so shapely that we have never seen their like before." On every one of them King Kuśa had carved his name as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know it was the handiwork of King Kuśa.

These vessels were taken by the female slaves of the court into the palace and handed to Sudarśanā. "Look, Sudarśanā," said they, "at these vessels; how lovely and fine they are, and how well and cleverly fashioned. Take the one that pleases you." And Sudarśanā was on the point of taking the finest and most beautiful of all the vessels when she saw the name of Kuśa on it. She thought to herself "This is the work of Kuśa." She therefore rejected it and selected others crudely made in their place. Her mother, her sisters and the women of the court remonstrated with her, saying, "Vessels as fine as these have never before been brought into the palace. Why do you not choose these fine vessels?" She answered them, saying, "I do not want that. Let me have this." But she revealed the secret reason for this to no one.

King Kuśa thus derived no profit from his stay at the potter's. So he left and settled at a master joiner's. There various kinds of joinery work were made for the royal household—chairs, sofas, (**465**) benches, bedsteads, footstools, fine seats, *ayakvas*,[1] dishes,[2] *antakoṭas*,[3] and various other articles of joinery. Then King Kuśa turned out such articles of joinery, so well and cleverly made and so shapely, that all the joiners were amazed when they saw them. "Look," said they, "what a fine master and brilliant craftsman it is who has made articles so well and cleverly fashioned that we have never seen their like before." King Kuśa inscribed his own name on all of them as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know they were the work of King Kuśa.

The slaves of the household brought this joinery work to the palace, and the loveliest articles were selected and handed to Sudarśanā. "Look, Sudarśanā," said they, "at these

[1] Or *ayyakka*, or *appakka*—an unidentified article.
[2] Or "tables," *phelaka*. Cf. *Divy.* 504, *phela* (?) = "table."
[3] Unidentified.

articles of joinery; how fine and lovely they are. Choose what you like." And Sudarśanā was on the point of choosing the finest and loveliest of all the chairs, sofas, benches, foot-rests, footstools, fine seats, *ayakvas*, *antakoṭas*, dishes and tables,[1] when she saw the name of Kuśa on them. She thought to herself, "These are the handiwork of Kuśa." So she rejected these articles of joinery and chose others crudely made. Her mother, her sisters and the women of the court remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you reject such fine articles of joinery and (**466**) select others crudely made?" She answered them, saying, "I do not want these. Let these be mine." But she revealed the secret reason for this to no one.

Thus King Kuśa derived no profit from his stay at the joiner's. So he left and settled at a laundryman's,[2] where the clothes of the palace women, including those of Sudarśanā, were washed. Now King Kuśa recognised Sudarśanā's clothes and he washed them. He rinsed them so well and washed them so clean and spotless, that the laundrymen were amazed when they saw them. "Look," said they, "what a fine master and what a smart workman it is who has washed and rinsed these clothes so well and made them so clean and spotless, that we have never seen their like before." King Kuśa wrote his name in ink[3] on them as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know it was the work of Kuśa.

These clothes were then brought by the household slaves to the palace. Those which belonged to the queens were delivered to the queens, and those which belonged to the women of the court were delivered to them. The women saw how clean, pure and spotless the clothes of Sudarśanā were. They marvelled and said that Sudarśanā's clothes, being the brightest of all, well washed, pure and spotless, were worth a double or treble washing fee[4] from Sudarśanā. She, too, was pleased (**467**) until she saw Kuśa's name where the laundryman had written his

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[1] *Phela* and *phelika*. See p. 414, *n*. 2.

[2] *Coḍakadhovaka*. *Cola*, "clothes," is found in Sanskrit and in Pali.

[3] *Bhallātaka*, "the Acajoa or cashew-nut, the marking-nut (from which is extracted an acid juice, used for medicinal purposes, as well as a black liquid used for marking linen)" (*MW*.).

[4] Reading *dhovāpaṇika* for *dhovāpanika*. Cf. *rañjāpanika*, "dyeing fee" (below p. 468, text), which has once the v.l. *rañjāpaṇika*.

name in ink on the edge of the garment,[1] and learnt it was Kuśa's work. After that she would not take them herself; but two of her attendants said, "Let us two take them."

Now all the women of the court handed over the fee for washing their own clothes to the slaves. But Sudarśanā was not willing to pay for washing hers. Her mother, her sisters and the women of the court remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, seeing that your clothes are so well washed and cleaned and all are excellent,[2] why do you not pay him the washing fee?" Sudarśanā replied, "Why do you worry? It will be given him some other time." But she did not reveal the secret to anybody.

King Kuśa thus did not derive any profit from his stay at the laundryman's. So he left and settled at a master dyer's. In that dyer's workshop the clothes of the women of the king's court, including those of Sudarśanā, were dyed. There also did King Kuśa recognise Sudarśanā's clothes, and he dyed them so well, with such colour and variety of hue, that all the dyers were amazed. "Look," said they, "what a fine master and smart workman is this who dyes clothes so well and with such variety of colour, that we have never seen their like before." King Kuśa wrote his name in ink on all of them as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know it was the work of Kuśa.

Then the household slaves gave to the queens the clothes which belonged to them, and to the women of the court those belonging to them. The women of the court were amazed **(468)** when they saw Sudarśanā's clothes. They were dyed so well, so beautifully and so brightly that they thought Sudarśanā should pay a double or treble dyer's fee.[3] The clothes were handed to Sudarśanā, and when she saw them so well dyed, so beautiful and bright, she was joyful and glad, until she saw in the place where the dyer had put his mark the name of Kuśa. She thought to herself, "This is the work of Kuśa." And she would not accept the clothes, but offered them to her attendant.

The women of the court handed over the fee for dyeing

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[1] Reading, as Senart suggests, *daśānte* for *deśante* of the text.
[2] *Lañcaka*, see Vol. 1, p. 90, *n*. 3.
[3] *Rañjāpanīya*, a variant of *rañjāpanika*, the form found elsewhere on this page, is taken as being for *rañjāpaṇika*, which is actually the reading of one MS. at one of its occurrences. Cf. p. 415, *n*. 4.

their clothes to their slaves, but Sudarśanā was not willing to pay the fee. Her mother, her sisters, and the women of the court remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, your clothes have been dyed so well, so beautifully and brightly that you ought to pay double or treble the dyer's fee. But you refuse to pay it." Sudarśanā replied, "Why do you worry? It will be paid some other time."

Thus King Kuśa did not derive any profit from his stay at the dyer's. So he left and settled with a master maker of bowls.[1] There at the king's command various kinds of eating and drinking bowls of gold and silver, inlaid with precious stones, were made for the use of the court. King Kuśa made such lovely and well-fashioned eating and drinking vessels of gold and silver, inlaid with precious stones, that there was no bowl-maker who could make their like. And when the bowl-makers saw such bowls (469) they were amazed. "See," said they, "what a fine master, what a smart craftsman it is who makes such bowls of precious metals, that we have never seen their like before." And on them all King Kuśa inscribed his name as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know that they were the handiwork of Kuśa.

When all the royal gold and silver bowls were finished the master bowl-maker delivered them to King Mahendraka. When the latter saw the bowls which had been made by King Kuśa, he was amazed and concluded that such bowls, inlaid with precious stones, had been made by an expert master. King Mahendraka handed over the precious vessels to the eunuchs and chamberlains, saying to them, "Go in to the court and let the queen and my daughter Sudarśanā first have those which they like, and then offer them to the other queens and the women of the court." The eunuchs and chamberlains took the precious bowls into the women's apartment and delivered them to the chief queen. "Your majesty," said they, "these precious vessels were sent by the king. Your majesty and your daughter Sudarśanā are first to take those which you like, then the others are to be given to the other queens and the women of the court."

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[1] *Taṭṭakāra*, cf. Pali *taṭṭaka*, "a bowl for holding food." "According to Kern, *Toev.*, *s.v.* taken into Tamil as *tattav*, cf. also Av. *taśta*. Morris (*J.P.T.S.* 1884, 80) compares Marathi *tasta* (ewer)." (*P.E.D.*)

Her mother, her sisters, the women of the court, the eunuchs and chamberlains said to Sudarśanā, "Sudarśanā, these precious bowls for eating and drinking were sent by your father. Do you first choose those which you like, then it will be allowed to the other queens and all the women of the court to choose." And Sudarśanā was about to select the finest of all, which was well-made, well-finished and shapely, when she saw on it the name of Kuśa. She thought to herself, "This is the handiwork of Kuśa." So she rejected it and chose others of crude workmanship. Her mother, her sisters, (**470**) the women of the court, the eunuchs and the chamberlains remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you reject such beautiful precious bowls, the finest of all, and select others crudely made?" She replied, "I do not want this, let me have that." But she revealed the secret of it to no one.

Thus King Kuśa derived no profit from his stay with the master bowl-maker. So he left and settled at a master goldsmith's. There by the king's command golden ornaments of various kinds were made for the court, such as, tiaras, sandals,[1] chaplets,[2] screens,[3] furbelows,[4] jewelled ear-rings, baskets, strings of pearls,[5] mirrors, bracelets, rings, girdles, slippers,[6] rings for toes and fingers.[7] And King Kuśa made such fine ornaments of gold, so magnificent, superb, well made, well-finished, refined,[8] purified, delicate, pliable[9] and resplendent,

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[1] ? *pādāstaraṇa.*

[2] ? *suvarṇamālā,* "golden wreaths."

[3] *Kilanjaka,* cf. Pali *kilanja.*

[4] *Veṭhaka.* See *D.* I. 105, and note at *Dial.* I. 130, where reference is made to Cunningham, *Stupa* of *Bharhut,* Pl. l, showing laywomen having "only very elaborate headdresses and necklaces, a skirt from the waist to the ankles, and a very broad and handsome girdle worn over the top of the skirt."

[5] Reading *muktāvalikā* for the *mukhaphullaka* of the text, which is inexplicable. Senart, however, is averse to adopting the former, because of the difficulty of accounting for its corruption into the latter.

[6] ? *pādāstaraka.*

[7] *Pādāngulivethaka.* Cf. *Vism.* 446. *angulivethaka.*

[8] The text has *sunirvāyantāni,* which Senart says is "infiniment suspect." He very doubtfully suggests the rendering "bien tissés," apparently regarding the word as a derivative of *ve, vayati* (Pali *vāyati*), "to weave," but the prefix *nir,* which has a negative force, would seem to make this quite impossible. Perhaps the word should rather be regarded as a corrupt or irregular form of a participle of *nirvā,* "to extinguish." The idea conveyed by this would be that the gold was burnt in fire to rid it of dross (cf. the next term *sunirvāntamalakaṣāyāṇi,* from *nir-vamati*), and left there until the fire was extinguished, or, more directly, that the gold was "burnt out," hence, "purified."

[9] *Karmaṇiya.*

that all the other goldsmiths were amazed when they saw them. "See," said they, "what a fine master, what a smart craftsman it is who has made these ornaments of gold; so well fashioned, finished and shapely are they that we have never seen their like before." And on all of them King Kuśa engraved his name as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know that they were the handiwork of Kuśa.

When all the ornaments had been finished by the goldsmiths (**471**) they were brought[1] to King Mahendraka. And when that king saw the ornaments made by King Kuśa he was filled with wonder. "See," said he, "what well-fashioned, well-finished and brilliant ornaments these are. They have been made by an expert master." King Mahendraka handed the ornaments to the eunuchs and chamberlains, saying, "Go and give these to the chief queen and to Sudarśanā to make their choice first, and afterwards to the other queens and all the women of the court."

The eunuchs and chamberlains took the ornaments into the king's court and delivered them to the chief queen and Sudarśanā. "Your majesty," said they, "these golden ornaments have been sent by the king. Do you and your daughter Sudarśanā first choose what you like. Afterwards they will be given to the other queens and all the women of the court."

Sudarśanā was about to select the most brilliant, well-made, well-finished and shapely ornament, when she saw on it the name of Kuśa. She thought to herself, "This is Kuśa's handiwork." So she rejected it and chose those crudely and unskilfully made. Her mother, her sisters and the women of the court remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you so perversely reject the finest of all the golden ornaments, which are well-made, well-finished and shapely, and the work of an expert master, and choose those which are crudely and unskilfully made?" Sudarśanā answered, "I do not want that. Let this be mine." But she did not reveal the secret of it to anybody.

[1] *Allīpita*, part. of *allīpeti* or *allīpayati*, the BSk. form of the causative of *ālīyati*, "to cling to," Sk. *ālāpayeti*, Pali *alliyāpeti* cf. *allīna*, p. 413 *n.* 1. Found several times in the *Mhvu.* At its first occurrence, 1. 311, it has been rendered (1. 259) by "clung," though "brought" would suit the context just as well.

Thus King Kuśa derived no profit from his stay at the goldsmith's. So he left and settled at a master-jeweller's. There at the king's command (**472**) various kinds of jewellery were made for the women of the court, such as necklaces of pearls, gems, beryl, shell, stone, red coral, crystal, white coral and ruby, necklaces of sixty-four strings,[1] jewelled ear-rings, jewelled nets,[2] tiaras, bracelets, bangles and girdles. King Kuśa made such well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely jewellery that all the jewellers were amazed when they saw it. "See," said they, "what a fine master, what a smart craftsman it is who makes such well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely jewellery that we have never seen the like before." And on all the articles King Kuśa carved his name as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know that they were the handiwork of Kuśa.

When the ornaments had been finished by the jewellers they were brought to King Mahendraka. And the king was filled with wonder when he saw those made by Kuśa. "See," said he, "what a fine master, what an expert craftsman is here."

King Mahendraka handed the ornaments to the eunuchs and chamberlains. "Go," said he to them, "give these ornaments to the chief queen and Sudarśanā to choose what they like first, and then give them to the other queens and all the women of the court." And the eunuchs and chamberlains took the ornaments to the court and delivered them to the chief queen and Sudarśanā. "Your majesty," said they, "these ornaments have been sent by the king. Do you and your daughter Sudarśanā select what you like. Afterwards they will be given to the other queens and to all the women of the court."

Sudarśanā was about to select the finest of all the ornaments, which was well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely, when she saw on it the name of Kuśa. She thought to herself, "This is the handiwork of Kuśa." (**473**) So she rejected it and chose others more crudely and unskilfully made. Her mother, her sisters, the women of the court, the eunuchs and chamberlains remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you so perversely reject such jewels, which are well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely, and choose those which are crudely and

[1] Or "of forty strings," *ardhahārā*, "half-necklaces."
[2] Reading, as Senart suggests, *maṇivākarā* for *maṇivakkalā* of the text. Cf. Pali *vākarā*, the equivalent of Sk. *vāgurā* (*vāgulā*).

unskilfully made?" Sudarśanā answered, "I do not want them. Let me have this." But she did not reveal the secret to anybody.

Thus King Kuśa did not derive any profit from his stay at the jeweller's. So he left and settled with a master maker of shell bracelets.[1] There at the king's command various ornaments and vessels of shell and ivory were made for the women of the court, such as bracelets of ivory, boxes for eye-salve,[2] caskets of ivory, ointment boxes in fantastic shapes,[3] vases of ivory, furbelows[4] of ivory, foot-ornaments[5] of ivory, *sīṃhakas*,[6] armlets of shell, sofas[7] of shell, vessels of shell for holding oil, perfume and paint, mats[8] of shell, lids of shell, necklaces of shell, girdles of shell, *vocakas*[9] of shell, palanquins[10] of shell, and coverings of shell. And King Kuśa made various articles and ornaments of ivory and shell which were so well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely that all the workers in shell and ivory were amazed when they saw them. "See," said they, "what a fine master and what a smart craftsman it is who makes such ornaments and articles of shell and ivory that we have never seen their like before." And on all of them King Kuśa carved his name (**474**) as a mark, so that Sudarśanā might know they were the handiwork of Kuśa.

When all the ornaments had been finished by the workers in shell and ivory as the king had ordered, they were delivered to King Mahendraka. When the king saw the excellent, brilliant, skilled and superb handiwork of Kuśa, he was amazed. "See," said he, "what we have here made by a clever master."

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[1] *Sankhavalayakāra.* The sequel shows, however, that he made other articles besides bracelets (or "rings," *valaya*).

[2] *Añjanīya.*

[3] ? *rocanapiśācika. Rocana* is probably for *rocanā*, "a particular yellow pigment, commonly called *go-rocanā*" (*M.W.*), the name of the contents being used to denote the receptacle. Cf. *añjanīya* in the preceding note. *Piśācika* would refer to figures of goblins, etc. (*piśāca*), adorning the boxes; or, perhaps, the boxes themselves were fashioned in the form of grotesque figures.

[4] *Viheṭhēka*, for *veṭhaka* See p. 418, *n.* 4.

[5] ? *Pādamlayā.*

[6] An unidentified article. Possibly the allusion is to some ornament named analogically with Pali *sīha-kuṇḍala*, "lion's earring," *i.e.* a very precious earring.

[7] *Sankhaśayyā*, obviously miniature ones serving as ornaments.

[8] ? Small table-mats.

[9] An unidentified article.

[10] See *n.* 7.

The princes, ministers and king's retainers observed the articles made by Kuśa, and when they had seen them they, too, were amazed, and said they were the work of an expert master.

King Mahendraka handed over the ornaments and vessels to the eunuchs and chamberlains. "Go," said he to them, "into the women's quarters and let the chief queen and Sudarśanā my daughter first choose what they like. Then let the other queens and the women of the court have their choice." The eunuchs and chamberlains took the ornaments and vessels into the women's quarters and delivered them to the chief queen. "Your majesty," said they, "these ornaments and vessels of shell and ivory have been sent by the king. Do you and your daughter Sudarśanā first take what you like. Then a choice will be given to the other queens and all the women of the court."

When Sudarśanā saw the ornaments and vessels of shell and ivory she observed one which was better made and fashioned, more lovely and brilliant than all the others, and the work of a fine master. She extended her hand, and was about to take it when she saw on it the name of Kuśa. And she thought to herself, "This is the handiwork of Kuśa." So she rejected it and chose others which were crudely and unskilfully made. Her mother, her sisters, the women, the eunuchs and chamberlains remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, (**475**) why do you so perversely reject these which have been made by a fine master and are the loveliest of all, well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely, the work of a fine master, and choose others which are crudely and unskilfully made?" Sudarśanā answered, "I want none of those; let me have this." But she did not reveal the secret to anybody.

Thus King Kuśa derived no special advantage[1] from his stay with the worker in shell and ivory. So he left and settled with a master machine-worker.[2] There at the king's command various kinds of machine-made[3] staffs were produced for the

[1] *Viśeṣa* is here used for *artha*, which is the word employed in this formula elsewhere.

[2] *Jantakāra, sic* for *jantra*°. Senart explains *jantra* as a prakritising form for *yantra*. The MSS. vary between *jantra* and *yantra*.

[3] *Jantramāṣṭa*. *Māṣṭa* is obscure. Senart suggests that it is "une dérivation prakritisante" from *mṛiṣṭa*, part. of *mṛij*, hence "polished." Possibly it is equivalent to "turned," as by a turner on his lathe. But in the absence of definite indication as to the exact mechanism, it is safer to render by a general expression like "machine-made."

women of the court. Various toys were made by machine, and fans. Fans in the form of palm-leaves[1] were machine-made, fans in the form of peacocks' tails,[2] and footstools and couches with machine-made legs. *Mahāśālikas*[3] and bracelets were made by machine. Various artificial[4] birds were made by machine, such as parrots, *śārikas*,[5] cuckoos, geese, peacocks, woodpeckers, ducks, *morambas*,[6] and pheasants. Vessels for holding sesamum oil were made by machine. Various kinds of artificial fruits were made by machine, such as *bhavyas*,[7] pomegranates, citrons, fruit of the *vīrasena*,[8] grapes, mangoes, rose-apples, figs, elephant-tree apples, coconuts,[9] breadfruit, fruit of the *kṣīrika*,[10] of the *nīpa*,[11] of the *kadamba*,[12] and dates.[13] Such were the various machine-made articles produced there.

King Kuśa produced (476) such machine-made articles, so well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely, that all the machine-workers were amazed when they saw them. "See," said they, "what a fine master, what a smart craftsman it is who has made such well-turned[14] articles, so well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely, that we have never seen their like before." And on all of them King Kuśa inscribed his name as a mark, so that Sudarśanā should know they were the handiwork of Kuśa.

When all the articles had been finished by the machine-workers, they were delivered to the king. And Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, was amazed when he saw the articles which had been made by Kuśa. "See," said he, "how well-fashioned, well-finished and shapely are these things made by a fine master." The king then handed the articles to the

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[1] *Tālavantaka*. Sk. *tālavrinta, tālavrintaka*.
[2] *Morahastaka*. Pali *morahattha*.
[3] An unidentified article.
[4] There is no word corresponding to this in the text, but its insertion in the translation is obviously necessary.
[5] See Vol. I, p. 226, *n*. 2.
[6] Unknown species of birds, but most likely related to peacocks, *mayūra, mora*. Senart suggests that the true reading is *moraka* = "peacock.'
[7] Fruit of the *bhavya* tree. See Vol. I, p. 205, *n*. 2.
[8] Or the *āruka*, "a medicinal plant of cooling properties growing in the Himalayas." (*M.W.*)
[9] *Nālīkera* = ? *nālikera*.
[10] See p. 234, *n*. 3.
[11] "The tree Nauclea Cadamba, a species of Aśoka tree" (*M.W.*).
[12] According to *M.W.* the same as the preceding, but the *P.E.D.* identifies it as *Nauclea cordifolia*.
[13] ? *kharjaralatika*. Cf. Sk. *kharjūra*, the tree *Phœnix sylvestris*, date-tree.
[14] *Māṣṭaka*. See p. 422, *n*. 3.

eunuchs and chamberlains. "Go," said he to them, "take these to the women's quarters, and give them first to the chief queen and my daughter Sudarśanā, and afterwards to the other queens and all the women of the court."

The eunuchs and chamberlains took the articles into the women's quarters and handed them to the chief queen and her daughter Sudarśanā. "Your majesty," said they, "these machine-made articles have been sent by the king. Do you and your daughter Sudarśanā first select what you like. Afterwards a choice will be given to the other queens and all the women of the court." Sudarśanā extended her hand and was about to take what she saw was the finest of the articles, well-fashioned, well-finished, and shapely, when she saw on it the name of Kuśa. She thought to herself, "This is Kuśa's handiwork." So she rejected it, and chose other articles, which were crudely made. Her mother, her sisters, the women of the court, the eunuchs and chamberlains remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you perversely reject the things which are well-fashioned, well-finished, shapely, and the work of a fine master, and choose others which are crudely and unskilfully made. Why do you not choose the finest of all?" **(477)** Sudarśanā answered, "I do not want that. Let this be mine." But no one knew the secret of it.

King Kuśa thus derived no profit from his stay at the machine-worker's. So he left and settled with a master worker in cane.[1] There, various articles of cane were made for the king, such as fans, fans in the shape of palm-leaves, sunshades, receptacles,[2] baskets, cane stands,[3] cane posts,[4] and cane carriers.[5] Such were the varied articles made at the king's command for the women of the court. And King Kuśa, in the company of all the other cane-workers, made the varied articles of cane for the women of the court in such a way that not one of the cane-workers could produce their like.

[1] Literally, "a master of the varuṭas," *varuṭānām mahattaraka*. *Varuṭa* here seems to be for *varuḍa*, "a low mixed caste (one of the seven low castes called Antya-ja, whose occupation is splitting canes" (*M.W.*). *Varuṭa* itself denotes "an artisan of a particular class (placed among Mlecchas or barbarians)." (*M.W.*)

[2] ? *Pālaka*.

[3] ? *vetramañcaka*.

[4] ? *vetramethika*.

[5] ? *vetrapeṭhaka*. ? *sic* for °*peṭaka*.

When all the articles of cane had been finished as ordered, they were brought to the king. And he sent them by the hands of the eunuchs and chamberlains to the women's quarters, where they were delivered first to the chief queen and Sudarśanā. "These," said they, "are sent to you by the king. Do you first select what you like. Then a choice will be given to all the women of the court." The chief queen chose what she liked, and then said to Sudarśanā, "Now do you choose the articles of cane which please you." But when she saw that the finest, the most superb, the best wrought, the most exquisite articles of cane, which had been made by King Kuśa and were the marvel of the people, were inscribed with Kuśa's name, she rejected them, and chose others crudely made. (478) Her mother, her sisters, the women of the court, the eunuchs and chamberlains remonstrated with her, saying, "Sudarśanā, why do you reject the fine and superb articles of cane, and choose others crudely made?" She answered, "I do not want those; let me have these." But they did not know the secret reason why she did not choose those regal articles.

Thus King Kuśa did not derive any profit from his stay with the worker in cane. So he left and went to the kitchen of Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, where he joined the chief cook, saying to him, "I will stay here and do whatever task you order. I am skilled at work like this." The chief cook appointed King Kuśa to his kitchen and gave him instructions, saying, "Now get on with your work." There in the royal kitchen King Kuśa prepared such varied kinds of meat, condiments, herbs, and victuals, whether sour, salt, acid, pungent, astringent or sweet,[1] that all the royal cooks never saw such cooking before. And in all his life Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, had never before tasted such flavour.

When Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, entered the refectory,[2] he could not have enough of eating the varied and exquisite kinds of meat, condiments, herbs and victuals, whether sour, salt, acid, pungent, astringent or sweet, which had been cooked by King Kuśa. The king was amazed and questioned the chief cook, saying, "Here, tell me, what cook

[1] These six flavours (*rasa*) are also mentioned at *Miln.* 56.
[2] *Bhaktāgra*, BSk., Pali *bhattagga*.

was it who cooked my food to-day? In all my life I have never tasted with my tongue such excellent flavour." And the chief cook respectfully informed the king, saying, "Your majesty, a stranger has been appointed as cook in the kitchen. It was he who cooked your majesty's food."

(479) The king thought to himself, "This skilful cook must be made welcome in every way. He must be kindly treated, so that he will never leave." And the king gave instructions to the chief cook, saying, "Here, chef, bring in the cook who prepared my food to-day, so that I may see him." So when the king entered the refectory the chief cook presented King Kuśa to him, saying, "Here is the cook who prepared your majesty's food." Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, saw that King Kuśa was ugly, repulsive, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied, and black, the colour of a heap of soot. Seeing this the king was amazed. "Ah! not so," he exclaimed, "he is really beautiful, though his exterior is uncouth. He has such an understanding of flavouring and a delicate sense of taste."[1] A generous allowance was duly assigned to him. Royal food, solid and soft, was put before him, and when he had eaten, drink was given him and a garland hung[2] round his neck. And King Mahendraka gave orders, saying, "Let this cook have free access[3] to the palace." So he lived in the royal palace honoured and esteemed. He was beloved of the king, and beloved of, dear to, and popular with all the princes, ministers and army officers.

Then Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, gave instructions to the eunuchs and chamberlains, saying to them, "Ho, men, let this cook boldly enter the women's quarters and let him become a plaything of the women." So King Kuśa boldly entered the palace, while the women said, "This man has been given us by the king to be a plaything." And the women boldly played with him, made sport with him, mounted on his back,[4] and made him carry them in various other ways.[5]

Sudarśanā suddenly saw King Kuśa (480) being ridden by

[1] *Rasāgra*. Cf. Pali *rasagga*, which, however, is only used in combination with °*aggita* and °*aggin*. For the BSk. form corresponding to the latter see p. 287, *n*. 7.
[2] *Ālabdha*, a form arising from confusion of the two stems *labh* and *lamb*.
[3] Literally, "enter with unclosed door," *anāvṛitadvāro . . . praviśatu*.
[4] *Pṛiṣṭhimaṃ āruhitvā*, not as Senart renders, "le prenant sur le dos."
[5] Literally, "in various (means of) carrying," *nānāvāhikāye*.

the women. And when she saw him she was frightened and alarmed. She was annoyed and angry[1] with the women, and reproved them, saying, "Is it permissible that women should make a man carry them?" But the women answered and said, "Sudarśanā, why are you annoyed and angry with us, and why do you reprove us? If this plaything of ours[2] were your husband, then you could be jealous of him."[3] Sudarśanā replied, "Never mind my jealousy. The point is that it is not proper for you to make this man carry you. I shall not be pleased[4] with the woman who rides him."

Now when Sudarśanā saw King Kuśa in the women's quarters she became downcast of countenance and afflicted by sorrow. Yet she did not approach him nor speak to him. But King Kuśa said to her, "Are you frightened on seeing me here?" Sudarśanā answered, "Why have you come here? It is a wonder that you were not seen on your way, whether at night or in daytime, and that you were not killed by someone who took you for a demon of the forest. Go back to your wide realm and your spacious halls. Divert, delight and amuse yourself with your own people. What will you do here?" King Kuśa answered, "I will not go without you. The land from which I come has no charm for me."

Sudarśanā said:—

Now what am I to do? Or why should I be blamed?[5]

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[1] *Kṣīyati.* Cf. use of Pali *khīyati* in the same sense.

[2] *Vayam,* which must here be taken as equivalent to the genitive.

[3] *Se īrṣyāyase.* Senart renders, "tu aurais le droit de te mettre en colère," only adding the remark that the present *īrṣyāyase* "ne comporte pas le sens conditionnel." He thus assumes a denominative *īrṣyāyati* (from *īrṣyā*) for the regular Sk. *īrṣyati.* But it would seem better to let *īrṣyā* stand as a substantive and assume that *yase* is a corruption, concealing some form of *bhavati,* possibly *bhave.* On such a supposition, *se* = *asya,* which is ignored in Senart's rendering, can be readily construed, "there could be jealousy of him"; or *se* might be emended into *te,* "you could have jealousy = you could be jealous." Cf. the next sentence, *eṣā mama yā īrṣyā sā bhavatu,* "let this jealousy of mine be."

[4] *Sāta* Pali, Sk. *śāta.*

[5] *Garahāmi.* Senart considers that this does not give good sense here or in the repetition, and a MS. reading of the latter, *garahayāmi,* suggests to him the emendation into *āhvayāmi,* "whom shall I call on?" But this leaves the genit. *kasya* unexplained; it requires some violence to the syntax to make it the direct object of the verb. It would seem better to retain *garahāmi,* in spite of the fact that it has to be given a passive force. The point of the question becomes clear when in the third stanza Kuśa is urged to return home *atarjanto,* "without blaming (me)." It should be added, however, that in a note on the parallel passage in Vol. 3, p. 16, where he prints *anūrjako,* "without food," Senart says he would prefer the same reading here also.

My heart is a-flutter as though I had seen a demon[1] *of the sea. What am I to do? Or why should I be blamed? My heart is a-flutter like (the heart of) a straying deer when it sees the hunter.*

(481) *Blame me not, but night and day hurry back along the way you came. Return to your own kingdom, Kuśa, I do not wish to see your ugly countenance.*

The king replied :—

O stately lady, swart of complexion, with firm hips and a slender waist, I am distraught for love of you. I have no desire for my throne.

O lady of the well-developed bosom, though I know[2] *what land I came from I wander distraught over the earth. O lady, of the soft fawn-like glance, I am mad with love.*

The queen said :—

You are out of your mind, since you desire one who does not desire you. O king, you love one who does not love you. This is not the mark of a wise man.

Kuśa replied :—

When a man wins a lady whether she loves him or loves him not, men praise his success. He who fails is a sorry fellow.

The queen said :—

You can gratify even a thousand women in one night. But through loving one woman only you incur great misery.

(482) The king replied :—,

I know none of that misery, O glorious lovely lady, in chaste living accomplished. You will be my wife.

The queen said :—

Talk not of my chaste life; it is worth nothing to you.[3] *You will make love elsewhere, to a lioness or a jackal.*

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[1] *Rākṣasa.* See Vol. I, p. 73, *n.* 5.

[2] Omitting *na*, "not," with at least one MS. Cf. also the corresponding verse at *J.* 5. 294.

[3] *Ayam te bhavati* (for *bhavatu* of the text) *pāpaka:*, "it is bad for you." *Ayam . . . pāpaka:* masc. instead of neuter with *brahmacaryam.*

Kuśa replied :—

Speak not so, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist. Even recluses win bright renown among us[1] *by their chaste living.*

For, lady, they shine in this world by virtue of their well-spent lives, and are reborn in heaven in Tridaśa,[2] *where they enjoy the pleasures of sense.*

This I tell you, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist, no other man is your lord but Kuśa of the lion voice.

The queen said :—

If what the prophets say be true, you can cut me to pieces ere I become your wife.[3]

The king replied :—

I have no wish to cut you up, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist, whole as you are will you become my wife.

(483) *A great realm is mine, rich in horses and in men, infinite in extent, and having abundant clothing and food.*

But now here am I come having abandoned[4] *throne and realm.*

Distraught by love for you, I care not for my kingdom.

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[1] *Vayam,* has to be taken as an oblique case. Cf. p. 427, *n.* 2.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 124, *n.* 2.

[3] The inconsequence of this sentence is obvious. In fact, our text here departs from the tradition as represented by the Pali version. (*J.* 5. 296.) The first verse of the stanza is practically identical in both versions, but the Pali variant of the second may justly be regarded as the more authentic. It reads *n'eva me tvaṃ pati assa kāmam* (= *me,* so *Comy.*) *chindantu sattadhā ti.* (*J. trans.* renders, very loosely, "mayst thou in seven pieces be cut ere thou King Kuśa wed." But in spite of the *ti* this cannot be regarded as a direct quotation of the augurs' words. Sudarśanā, *i.e.* her Pali counterpart, rather sums up their augury in her own words—"you shall not be my husband, let them cut me (= though they cut me,) in seven pieces.") As the sequel shows this was to prove no mere fancy on the part of the augurs, for Sudarśanā was in real danger of meeting this fate if she persisted in her refusal to accept Kuśa. The *Mhvu.* version is *na te bhāryā bhaviṣyāmi kāmaṃ chiṇdāhi khaṇḍaśa:* where, in spite of the allusion to the augurs in the preceding verse, the cutting-up is what Sudarśanā dares Kuśa to do, and not the punishment which the augurs had in mind as being likely to be inflicted on her for her obstinacy.

[4] *Chorayitvā* from *chorayati, choreti.* This verb has been already met with, p. 391 (text) of this Vol., where the meaning "to leave" is not very apposite, and where the translation has preferred a rendering nearer to the usual sense of the verb. See p. 350, *n.* 4. Here, however, the sense is clearly "to leave," as in the passages of *Lal. Vist.* and *Divy.* cited in the note referred to.

The queen said :——

You might as well dig a hole in the rock with the wood of the karṇikāra *tree*,[1] *or catch the wind in a net, as desire one who does not desire you.*

You desire me, but I do not desire you ; you love me, but I do not love you. Go back to your kingdom. Why do you weary yourself ?

The king replied :—

This is no weariness for me, it is but living a chaste life. Somewhere or other, lady, you will become my wife.

The queen said :—

Let this chaste life of yours be regarded as worthless. Go, woo a lioness, a jackal, or even an ass.

Then Kuśa, the son of a king, the heroic, the invincible in combat, since he was noble and wise,[2] *spoke these words :—*

(484) *If I go away, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist, I will first bind you with fetters. What will your people do ?*

The queen said :—

You must not sin[1] *against that dharma you once upheld. Bearing that dharma in mind how can you wish to bind me ?*

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[1] The text reads *karṇikāṛe ca karṇikām.* Senart explains the latter word as = Pali *kaṇṇikā*, " the corner of the upper story of a palace or pagoda," and assumes that the point is that the wood of the *karṇikāra* tree (see Vol. 1, p. 186, *n.* 2) is useless for this purpose. The line reads *pāṣāṇe khanase kūpaṃ karṇikāre ca karṇikām*, and on Senart's supposition the literal translation would be, "you dig a hole in the rock and a housetop in (= ? with) the *karṇikāra*." This obviously does not make sense, and even if it did, it would not present a figure of vain toil. It is always possible to cut a hole in a rock, given the right tool. The latter part of the line has therefore been emended into *karṇikārasya dāruṇā*, as in the corresponding Pali (*J.* 5. 295), " with the wood of the *k.* tree," the obvious implication being that it would be useless to try and cut a hole in the rock with a tool made of this wood.

[2] *Yaṃ ārūḍhaprajño.* The participle *ārūḍha*, " raised," is unusual in this applied sense. The right reading, perhaps, is *audāra* BSk. = *udāra.* There is no parallel to this passage in *J.*, but cf. the epithet applied to Kuśa at *J.* 5. 305, *soḷārapaññāno*, which the *Comy.* explains as = *uḷārapañño.* The MSS. are very uncertain here.

[3] Reading *aparādhyam* for *aparāyam* of the text, as in the repetition in Vol. 3, p. 19. Senart made this restoration independently of Vol. 3, at the same time emending *tam eva* into *tam na.*

The king said :—

I have the power to bind[1] *you, O sovereign lady,*[2] *and make you go where'er I will. What can your father do?*

I can if I like gratify a thousand women in one night. But you are my choice, O sovereign lady of the gleaming teeth.

The queen said :—

I know, your majesty, that you are strong and valiant. But you are ugly and hideous, too. You are repulsive, though you are a mighty lord.

You are thick-lipped, thick-headed and pot-bellied. I have no wish to see you. So do not weary yourself.

These high walls, these lofty towers and copings, and these warriors on elephants will stop you.

These fight with swords, axes, arrows and well-sharpened knives, and they shall seize you, O king.

(485) Thus did King Kuśa and Sudarśanā indulge in varied altercation with each other. But no one else knew that he really was King Kuśa. Then it happened that neighbouring and hostile kings, who were mighty and powerful and had great armies, heard that Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, had a daughter named Sudarśanā, who was lovely and beautiful. They learnt also that she had deserted King Kuśa and had returned to her father. Her husband, King Kuśa, found no favour in her eyes, because, so she said, he was ugly.

These seven kings, therefore, got together an army of four divisions—elephants, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry, and joined forces in order to secure Sudarśanā. Now of these seven kings, he who was noblest by birth was the king named Durmati, and he was also the strongest and the mightiest of the seven. The seven kings set out with great pomp and splendour, and in due course reached the park of Kanyakubja.

Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, sent a separate messenger to each of the seven kings, saying, " This daughter of mine, Sudarśanā, is the wife of King Kuśa, so I cannot give her

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[1] The text has *maṇḍayitvā*, " adorn," which, as Senart suggests, should be emended into *bandhayitvā*, or, perhaps, *daṇḍayitvā*, " punish."

[2] Or Prajāpatī, as a proper name. Sudarśanā is so named once or twice in the metrical version at the beginning of Vol. 3.

to another." When the seven kings heard this statement of Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, they were enraged and furious,[1] and, each with his own troops, they invested the city of Kanyakubja.

Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, entered the city, closed the gates, and prepared to endure a siege.[2] And he thought to himself, " Now I am beleagured by these seven kings. All of them are mighty and powerful, and I am not equal to giving them battle. If I give my daughter to one of them, the other six kings will be offended. What then am I to do ? " In his anger King Mahendraka reproached his daughter Sudarśanā, saying, " Why did you run away from your husband and come here ? For now, because of you, I am besieged (486) by seven kings. If any of the seven offers me violence I will cut you up into seven pieces, and give a piece to each of the seven kings."

When Sudarśanā heard her father's words, she became alarmed, terrified and distressed. She appealed to her mother, saying, " Mother, if these seven kings, contending with one another for me, will attack, then burn my bones to ashes and collect them, and make a shrine[1] for me. And at the entrance to the shrine you will plant a *karṇikāra* tree. Then when the summer is past and the first rainy month is come, that tree will be laden with flowers and be as beautiful as gold. Then you will remember me, and say, ' Such was the beauty of my dear Sudarśanā '."

When the chief queen heard the words of her daughter Sudarśanā, she became alarmed, terrified and distressed. Sobbing and weeping she exclaimed, " How can I live without my daughter ? "

Sudarśanā thought to herself, " So courageous, strong and valiant is King Kuśa that these seven kings cannot give him battle. Let me then plead for my life with King Kuśa." So Sudarśanā went to King Kuśa, talked pleasantly to him about

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[1] The reason for their anger is clearer in the Pali version, for there we are told that Sakka (Śakra) had sent a message, purporting to be from Mahendraka himself, to each king separately, inviting him to come and take Sudarśanā. It was only when they met before Kanyakubja that they realised that they had all come in quest of one and the same lady.

[2] Literally, " sat down besieged," *oruddha āsati.*

[3] *Elūka* = *eḍūka*, *eḍuka* or *eḍoka*, " a sanctuary filled with relics." Cf. Vol. 1, p. 154, *n.* 7.

various things, and then said to him, "Your majesty, thus does my father threaten me. If, says he, these seven kings cause him any harm, then he will cut me up into seven pieces and give a piece to each one of them." King Kuśa conversed with Sudarśanā and then said to her, "In loving you I have, it seems, done you a great injury. What will you do to me?"[1]

Thus did King Kuśa sit and talk with Sudarśanā. And the talk was heard by Sudarśanā's mother, and after she had heard it she (487) also saw King Kuśa. "Who may this be," she asked, "whence is he come? Is he a minstrel, a trader, a currier, a barber, a *caṇḍāla*,[2] or a *pukkasa*,[3] who thus dares to reprove and threaten my daughter?" But Sudarśanā raised her joined hands to her mother and said to her, "Mother, do not talk so. This man is neither a musician, nor a trader, nor a slave, nor a currier. He is the eldest of the five hundred sons of King Ikśvāku, and called Kuśa. Do not, mother, think that he is a slave."

Gleaming white like a shell and thronged by women is this nobleman's rich court, and yet you deem him a slave.

Furnished with vessels of gold and teeming with women is this nobleman's rich court, and yet you deem him a slave.

He has sixty thousand cities. Thriving, prosperous and peaceful is this nobleman's rich court, and yet you deem him a slave.

He has sixty thousand elephants with trimmings and housings of gold. With their long[4] tusks these mighty beasts issue forth,

Ridden by village chiefs armed with swords and lances. Rich is this nobleman's court, and yet you deem him a slave.

He has sixty thousand chariots, moving with a joyous sound, decorated, made of iron, well-wrought, covered with leopard's skin,

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[1] This is Senart's interpretation of a very uncertain passage. As the text stands it contains besides the pot. *kareyam* with the force of an aorist, the 3rd pers. pot. *kuryāt* for the 1st pers.

[2] "The generic name for a man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes, born from a Śūdra mother and Brāhman father" (*MW.*).

[3] "Epithet of a degraded mixed caste (erroneously identified by lexicographers with the Cāṇḍālas), the offspring of a Ni-shada by a Śudrā mother" (*MW.*).

[4] Reading *iṣādantā*, "having tusks as long as a plough-pole," for *iṣādantą* of the text. For the term see references in *P.E.D.*, s.v. *īsādanta.*

And ridden by village chiefs armed with bows and in armour. Rich is this nobleman's court, and yet you deem him a slave.

He has sixty thousand horses, the best of thoroughbred steeds, (488) *having girths of gold and bejewelled bits,*

And ridden by village chiefs carrying nets, and armed. Rich is this nobleman's court, and yet you deem him a slave.

Twenty thousand brāhmans always eat at the king's table, and day and night they are ever honoured and esteemed. Rich is this nobleman's court, and yet you deem him a slave.

Five hundred princes abide there, all knowing father and mother. Rich is this nobleman's court, and yet you deem him a slave.

He has sixty thousand treasuries, a father and a great-grandfather . . .[1] *where the king and lord of men named Kuśa is. In beauty and energy there is not his equal in the world.*

Sudarśanā's mother, the chief queen, when she heard these words, was delighted that she had such a son-in-law who was endowed with all good qualities. And she related her daughter's words to Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas. " Your majesty," said she, " that you may know, I tell you that King Kuśa has arrived here." But the king on hearing these words of the queen's was alarmed and agitated, and his hair stood on end. He said, " Lady, how mad, how demented you are, when you say that King Kuśa has arrived. What is King Kuśa like ? Where did you see King Kuśa ? " The queen replied, " Your majesty, I am not mad nor demented. Assuredly, King Kuśa is he who cooks the food in your kitchen, and is the plaything of the women in your harem."

When the king heard this he was still more alarmed, agitated (489) and distressed. He said, " Have I not trouble enough in that seven kings keep me beleagured ? And now there is the trouble that the great King Kuśa has come here incensed with Sudarśanā. In his anger with me he will cause trouble within the city when I ride out."[2] And Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, thus alarmed and frightened, went into the women's quarters. He held out his joined hands to King Kuśa

[1] Lacuna, which leaves the stanza rather incoherent.
[2] Reading *vāhyena* for *avasānena*. So Senart.

and begged for his pardon, saying, "Forgive me, your majesty, if I have done you any wrong." But King Kuśa assured his father-in-law, saying, "Be not afraid. There is no need for you to ask pardon of me."

Then Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, instantly led King Kuśa to the bathroom, and had his hair and beard trimmed by barbers. He was anointed with fragrant oil worth a hundred pieces,[1] bathed with royal bathing powders, rubbed with royal ointments and dressed in royal finery. Wearing strings of pearls he was led to the same seat as his father-in-law and was entertained[2] with music played on the five musical instruments.[3]

Then was heard the high loud-sounding roar of the armies of the seven kings. And King Kuśa questioned his father-in-law, saying, "Your majesty, why do I hear the uproar and shouting of a great concourse of men?" The king replied, "Seven kings are investing this city on Sudarśanā's account, and I am besieged. The shouting is that of the armies of the seven kings."

King Kuśa consoled his father-in-law, saying, "Be not afraid, your majesty, I shall contrive that these seven kings will submit to us and do our bidding." And King Kuśa thus instructed his father-in-law. "Your majesty," said he, "have the ears of all these mighty elephants, of all the horses, of all the quadrupeds, and of all the people stopped with wax,[4] lest they hear my lion-roar and your own forces be scattered."[5] Then King Kuśa climbed on the back of a mighty elephant (**490**), and, having had the city gate opened, he rode out attended by a great crowd. He gave vent to his lion-roar, and as he roared his lion-roar all the seven kings with their might and their hosts were vanquished. They were captured alive, and, with their arms securely bound behind them, were brought to his father-in-law, Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas. All the seven mighty kings fell at the feet of Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas. "Hail, your majesty," said they, "we come to you for refuge and we are ready to do your bidding."

[1] *Śatapāka . . . taila.* See *P.E.D.* for references.
[2] *Upasthihiye*, a hybrid passive form; cf. Pali *upaṭṭhīyati* and *upaṭṭhahīyati.*
[3] *Pañcāngika tūrya.* See Vol. 1, p. 135, *n.* 2.
[4] *Madhusikthaka*, "a kind of poison" (*M.W.*). But *madhusitthaka* at *V.* 2. 116 is "beeswax."
[5] *Bhajjiṣyati*, fut. pass. of *bhañj*. One MS. has *bhañjiṣyanti*.

Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, asked his son-in-law Kuśa, "My son, what is your pleasure that I should do with these seven kings? As you bid me so shall I do." King Kuśa replied, "Your majesty, in your harem you have a number of daughters. It is meet that they should all be married. Now these seven kings are all of them noble, and have great forces, wealth and wide realms. Therefore, your majesty, dower[1] your seven daughters with a thousand pieces of gold and give a daughter to each king. Thus these seven kings will become your sons-in-law and will be powerful partisans of yours. All rival kings, seeing that you have a great army and following, will be submissive and obedient to you, and no hostile king will stand up to you." Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, replied, "Very well, my son. I shall do as you bid me." And Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, dowered each of his seven daughters with a thousand pieces of gold, and with great royal pomp and ceremony gave a daughter to each king. Thus sons and grandsons were secured as allies.[2] The seven kings were sent by Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, with great honour and respect each to his kingdom. "Go, my friends," said he, "and rule each over his own realm."

(**491**) After these kings had been sent away, King Kuśa stayed on for some time. Then he addressed his father-in-law Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, saying, "Your majesty, I announce to you that I too am going back to my own land." Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, replied, "My son, do not go. I owe my life to you, and my whole kingdom was rescued from danger by you. I am old, advanced in years, of great age, and my youth is past. I am your father and you are my son. Govern this kingdom and do not go away." King Kuśa said, "Your majesty, I have been here a long time. My kingdom is unsettled and my mother is anxious. I declare to you that I am going." Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, replied, "It is very much against my will that you go." King Kuśa said, "It is very much against my own will also that I go."

Then Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, summoned his daughter Sudarśanā and told her of this. "My daughter,"

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[1] Literally, "having had (made) them adorned with a thousand (pieces of) gold," *suvarṇasahasramaṇḍitāṃ kritvā*.

[2] ? *sandhī ca kṛitā putrapautrikā*.

said he, " your husband, King Kuśa, is a most valiant man. So strong and powerful is he that through him you and I and the whole kingdom were saved from danger, and all the kings submit to him. Sudarśanā, my daughter, be worthy of King Kuśa, your husband. Serve him with affection and honour." Sudarśanā reverently assented to her father's exhortation.

Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, with great pomp and ceremony, gave his daughter Sudarśanā to King Kuśa. And the latter, attended by an army of the four divisions, elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry, was sent back to his own kingdom. " Go, my son," said Mahendraka, " back to your own kingdom."

On his way back to his kingdom King Kuśa stayed in the grove of a place which was furnished with parks, and where there was a large lotus-pond. While he was bathing in the lotus-pond King Kuśa saw his reflection in the water and realised how ugly, hideous and repulsive he was. He looked again, and seeing how unlovely his body was he said to himself, " Verily, there is good reason why Sudarśanā, daughter of Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, should despise me for my misshapen, ugly and repulsive body.[1] (492) Let me now then destroy myself." And he decided to kill himself. But Śakra, lord of the devas, in his home in Trāyastriṃśa[2] became aware that King Kuśa was intending to kill himself. And Śakra thought, " This King Kuśa is in the way of becoming a Bodhisattva who will confer welfare and happiness on all beings. But he intends to kill himself because he is ugly and hideous, and then he will be of no use to the world."

And Śakra, lord of the devas, bringing with him the celestial gem called *jyotirasa*[3] which was in the centre of the celestial

[1] *Samucchraya*. See Vol. 1, p. 134, *n*. 1.

[2] See Vol. 1, p. 25, *n*. 2.

[3] Literally, " light-flavour." It is better to leave the term untranslated in the absence of definite information as to the identity of the gem. To render by "magic gem" or a similar expression would be merely describing it, and that in vague terms, while to the narrator it was known as a very special stone which went by this name. The Pali *jotirasa* occurs in *Miln*. 118 (Trans. in *S.B.E*. 35. 117—" wish-conferring gem," which is a literal rendering of the definition given at *DhA*. 1. 198—*sabbakāmadadaṃ maṇiratanam*.) But it is not exactly a " wishing-gem " in the present context. The Skt. *jyotirasa* occurs *Rām*. 2. 94-6 and *MBh*. 4. 24. The " magic " jewel given to Kusa by Sakka in *J*. is called *verocana* (*J*. 5. 310) which is obviously related in meaning to *jyotirasa*. In *J*., however, the jewel is a talisman only, protecting Kusa in the fight. There is no hint that it was used to transform Kusa's appearance.

single rope[1] of red pearls, appeared in the sky and spoke to King Kuśa, saying, "Your majesty, do not lay violent hands on yourself. But fasten on your head this single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem in it.[2] When you have this tied on you there will be in the whole of Jambudvīpa none equal to you in complexion and form. If you wish to recover your former complexion and form, then hide this single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem in your dress, and your complexion and form will be as before."

After King Kuśa had bathed in the lotus-pond, anointed himself with ointments and donned his royal garments, he fastened the single rope of pearls[3] on his head. Then he contemplated his face in the lotus-pond to see if there was any difference. And as he thus contemplated himself he discovered that he was lovely and beautiful. For complexion and form, his like had never been seen in Jambudvīpa. When King Kuśa saw himself so exquisitely beautiful, he became glad and elated. "No more," said he, "will Sudarśanā, the daughter of Mahendraka, king of the Madrakas, despise me, or any one else deem me ugly."

King Kuśa was standing in front of his own doorway[4] and was about to enter when he was stopped by the porters. **(493)** "Who are you, fellow," they asked him, "who would have the impudence to enter the king's palace? Do you not know that King Kuśa is difficult of access and hard to appease. Take care you do not presently find yourself in trouble and misfortune." King Kuśa replied, "I am your master. I am King Kuśa." The porters said, "Do we not know King Kuśa and what he is like? It would be a piece of good luck[5] if King Kuśa were like this. For then we, as well as the whole kingdom and the family of Ikṣvāku would be blessed with

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[1] Or "row," *ekāvalikā*.

[2] The syntax here is not clear. *Imāṃ ekāvalikām* and *jyotirasaratanam* are acc., apparently in apposition. When first mentioned the *jyotirasa* was described as being in the centre of the rope of pearls, and the form of the sentence would almost lead one to gather that Śakra brought along only the special gem. But the sequel shows that he had the whole row with him. The apposition of the whole and the part in the text may be rendered in translation by the insertion of "with."

[3] No express mention of the *jyotirasa* here.

[4] That is, of course, the doorway of his temporary lodging. He had not yet reached home.

[5] Literally, "let it be good luck," *bhadraṃ astu*.

the greatest of blessings in having a king of such beauty, endowed with such lovely, beautiful and perfect complexion and form." King Kuśa thought to himself, " This man does not recognise me." And he hid the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* jewel in his dress. Then the door-keeper saw King Kuśa in his own form, and, alarmed and terrified, he fell down at his feet. " Your majesty," said he, " we did not know that you were the king."

King Kuśa entered the palace and approached the queen. But she too stopped him and said, " Who are you, fellow, whence do you come, who would have the impudence to enter the royal palace ? Do you not know that it is not safe to enter the harem of King Kuśa ? Do not venture into the palace, lest you find yourself in trouble and misfortune." King Kuśa replied, " Madam, I am your husband. Know that I am King Kuśa." The queen said, " You are not my husband. You are not King Kuśa. Do I not know what King Kuśa is like in complexion and form ? It would indeed be a piece of good luck if King Kuśa were like you in complexion and form, for then I should be blessed with the greatest of blessings."

King Kuśa then hid the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* in his dress, and resumed his former appearance in complexion and form. Sudarśanā said, " Your majesty, why do you display this trick of illusion ? " King Kuśa replied, " Madam, this is no trick of illusion. On the contrary,[1] I was contemplating doing away with myself when Śakra, lord of the devas, (**494**) gave me this single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem in it, saying, ' Your majesty, do not kill yourself, but fasten this single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem on your head, and then in the whole of Jambudvīpa there will not be your equal in complexion and form. When you wish to recover your original complexion and form, hide the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* jewel in your dress. You will then have your old appearance back.' It is thus a favour done me by Śakra, lord of the devas." Queen Sudarśanā said, " I, too, have had a favour conferred on me by Śakra, lord of the devas, in that he has made you like this in complexion and form." And the queen added, " Your

[1] *Api tu.*

majesty," said she, " never hide the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* jewel. Let such sublime beauty be yours at all times. You will thus be more acceptable to the whole kingdom and to all the people." And so King Kuśa retained this complexion and form, and went on his way like a deva.

Then the four hundred and ninety-nine princes in Benares, the ministers and officers heard that King Kuśa was coming, and they all went out to meet him. King Kuśa came riding on a stately elephant and accompanied by an army of four divisions. Now the princes and army officers did not recognise King Kuśa, and they inquired of one another, saying, " Who can this king be who comes and who is so comely, beautiful, dignified, with noble complexion and form, and mounted on an elephant? We do not see King Kuśa."

King Kuśa thought to himself, " They do not recognise me." So while riding on the elephant he hid the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem in his hand, and forthwith he resumed his former appearance of complexion and form.

The four hundred and ninety-nine princes, the ministers and the army officers on seeing King Kuśa in his own form were alarmed and terrified. They fell at his feet and said to him, " Hail, your majesty, we did not (**495**) know that it was our king." Then King Kuśa explained matters to his brothers, the ministers and the army officers. " Friends," said he, " Śakra, lord of the devas, gave me this single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem, saying, ' Tie it on your head and there will be none like you in complexion and form '." The princes, ministers and army officers said to the king, " We have had a great favour conferred on us by Śakra, lord of the devas, in that your majesty's complexion and form have been made like this."

And so King Kuśa came to Benares with great royal magnificence and splendour and possessed of a noble complexion and form. He entered the royal palace where he greeted Alindā the queen-mother, bowed at her feet and stood before her. Now Alindā the queen-mother did not recognise King Kuśa. She asked, " Where is my son, where is King Kuśa? " King Kuśa replied, " Mother, I am your son. I am King Kuśa." But the queen-mother said, " You are not my son. You are not King Kuśa. Surely King Kuśa has been killed by

some-body or is dead, for he does not appear. Alas! I shall die unprotected since[1] I have lost my son."

Then King Kuśa, seeing his mother lamenting so, put away the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem in his dress, and resumed his former complexion and form. Alindā the queen-mother was glad when she saw her son in his old complexion and form. She asked him, "My son, how is it you came to have such complexion and form?" King Kuśa replied, "Mother, Śakra, lord of the devas, gave me a single rope of pearls with a *jyotirasa* gem in it. When I tied this on me[2] my complexion and form became as you saw just now."[3]

Alindā the queen-mother was delighted, glad and pleased. She said, "I have seen my son with such nobility of complexion and form as I could wish him to have." And all the women of the court, also, seeing King Kuśa's nobility of complexion and form were delighted, glad and pleased.

Thus, whenever King Kuśa tied on the single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* gem (**496**), which had been given him by Śakra, lord of the devas, he became like a deva, and whenever he hid it in his hand he resumed his former complexion and form. So King Kuśa ruled at Benares with illustrious success and prosperity, triumphant over rivals and foes.

And on that occasion the Exalted One recited the following verse before the Four Assemblies[4] and the rest of the multitude.

> *All the affairs of the virtuous man turn out successful, as happened to King Kuśa who was re-united with his wife and his people.*

It may be, monks, that you will think that the king named Kuśa at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must think otherwise. For at that time and on that occasion I was King Kuśa. You may think that at that time

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[1] Reading *yaṃ* for *yo*.

[2] *Tato me 'pinaddho etena*—The reading can hardly be correct, as the participle agrees neither with *ekāvalikā* nor with *ratnam*. Perhaps we should read *apinaddhena*, instr. absolute, which would well fit in with the syntax.

[3] Literally, "became like that," *edriśo saṃvṛitto*.

[4] *I.e.* the assembly of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen devotees, as at *A*. 2. 132. Another set of four assemblies is also mentioned in the Pali texts, viz. nobles, brāhmans, householders, and ascetics. (*D*. 3. 236). But the former group is the one more likely alluded to here, as it appears in a similar context in *J*., e.g., *J*. 1. 40.

and on that occasion Mahendraka, King of the Madrakas, was somebody else. You must not think so, for he was this Śākyan, Mahānāma. You may think that Alindā the queen-mother was somebody else. You must not think so, for she was Queen Māyā. You may think that Sudarśanā was somebody else. You must not think so. She was Yaśodharā here. You may think, monks, that he who was chief of the seven kings and named Durmati was somebody else. You must not think so, for he was wicked Māra, and the other kings were his henchmen. Then, too, was wicked Māra with his might and his host routed by the noise of my cough, just as he has now, with his might and his host, been routed at the foot of the *bodhi* tree by the noise of my cough.

INDEX I. TOPICS

INDEX II. NAMES

(Titles of works in italics. Pali works cited in footnotes are not listed. See list of Abbreviations.)

INDEX III. SANSKRIT WORDS

Some Sanskrit words discussed in the notes, with some Pali equivalent or related words in brackets.